

ENTERING THE SIXTH YEAR

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NUMBER 1

# SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

THE SOUTH AND THE NEW SOCIETY BY WALTER LIPPMANN

ELEVEN QUESTIONS ON AMERICAN MARRIAGE BY W. F. OGBURN

PRESENT TENDENCIES OF SOCIOLOGY IN ARGENTINA BY L. L. BERNARD

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK IN RURAL COMMUNITIES BY J. F. STUBBS

PROGRESS IN WORK WITH THE FAMILY BY THEO JACOBS

EVALUATING COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES BY M. C. ELMER

THE BLACK GIRD PASSES BY G. A. STEWARD

PROSPERITY AND POLITICAL PARTIES BY R. CLYDE WHITE

A FAMILY WAGE-RATE vs. A FAMILY SOCIAL ENDOWMENT  
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# SOCIAL FORCES

*A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*

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# THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

## THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

HOWARD W. ODUM

FROM time to time in these columns we have pointed out ways in which the scientific study of society appears to be making considerable headway. We have called attention to the important work being done by the scientific and learned groups, and especially by the Social Science Research Council, with its several committees and sub-committees pertaining to social research. Alongside these assets we have called attention likewise to the increase in resources, organization, and interest through the larger appropriations of colleges and universities, through the availability of funds from special foundations and grants and through the popular attention which has been aroused in the land and which may be reflected in certain of the cultural forces. And we have called attention to the general agreement that the social sciences have come to recognize in theory the unity of approach to social study and are developing technique capable of understanding, analyzing, and studying social problems together. Nevertheless, at the same time that they have come to recognize the unity of attack upon social problems and the need for coördination of effort they have also developed more scientific analysis, classification, and precision in each field.

Another field of promise previously indicated was that of the newer textbooks and research publications. A number

of important contributions which are appearing during the summer and early fall of 1927 will afford considerable opportunity for further encouragement in this field, for stimulating study, thought, and discussion, and for some very frank questionings on the part of sociologists, other social scientists, and social workers. Among these contributions are a number of volumes on the study of society, and certain new periodicals of promise. In this or early discussion we wish to call attention to a half dozen such efforts, each of which marks a most important contribution, and for each of which will be found critics applying various severe tests of method, content, and conclusions. The volumes include Sumner and Keller's *The Science of Society*, Davis, Barnes and other's *Introduction to Sociology* and *Readings in Sociology*, and Hornell Hart's *Science of Social Relations*. The periodical publications include *The Social Service Review*, *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, and the proposed *Social Science Abstracts*.

The appearance of Sumner and Keller's *The Science of Society* two decades after the publication of Sumner's *Folkways* will surely be welcomed, as Professor Hankins says, as "a brilliant" and unique monument of steadfast devotion and painstaking effort. Professor Hankins is reviewing the first two volumes for *Social Forces*. The third volume has since appeared in early

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September and treats largely of self-perpetuation and the evolution of society. Two chapters are devoted to self-gratification and two to generalities. This brings the total number of chapters up to LXII, with the aggregate of text and source material to 2,251 pages. The fourth volume will be composed of the case book, the bibliography, and the index.

The merits of *The Science of Society* are apparent. Some of the many points of challenge will include the following:

- The straight challenge of *laissez faire* to social guidance.
- The tendency to reject contemporary situations and problems as data for the study of society.
- The lack of faith in the ability of the social sciences to evolve objective measurements.
- Indiscriminate antagonism towards social work and social reform.
- Similar attacks upon other specialisms, such as statistics and the statistical method.
- The assumption that primitive society is "by far the longer stretch of societal evolution" as opposed to the concept that the race is still young.
- The considerable amount of contradictory evidence and *ad hominem* reasoning.
- The theory of the maintenance nature of institutions as opposed to composite survival values.
- The omission of much material and references to the newer contribution of the social sciences.

Another valuable contribution marked by the distinctiveness of its method and the courage of its authors and publishers will be found in *The Introduction to Sociology* and *Readings* under the joint editorship of Jerome Davis, Harry Elmer Barnes, L. L. Bernard, Seba Eldrige, Frank H. Hankins, Ellsworth Huntington, and Malcolm Willey. The sub-title is "A Behavioristic Study of an American Society," and it aims to present the joint creative products of many minds, to take into account the cultural approach to social analysis and to make a frankly behavioristic study of society. Like the Sumner and Keller volumes, the quantitative approach is

outstanding, the two volumes comprising more than 2000 pages, while the volume of readings contains 239 separate articles or extracts from one hundred and sixty-seven different authors. Manifestly, the merits of these volumes are also apparent and will be discussed subsequently in the Library and Workshop of *Social Forces*. Some of the points of challenge will no doubt include:

- The weight of the load of the biological, psychological, geographical, and general evolutionary backgrounds for the beginning student.
- The difficulties involved in coordinating the series of books and chapters by the several different authors.
- The selection of readings and references centered around certain "schools" of thought and method, magnifying the recent contributions in somewhat the same way that Keller and Sumner neglected them.
- The tendency to predict without substantial evidence what the future of society "will probably be" and the "fallacy of the perfect," or the assumption that social problems may have simple "yes" and "no" solutions or characterizations.
- A certain tendency towards dogmatism and moral judgments. This might be measured, for instance, by counting verdicts of other specialists in the field of the natural and social sciences.

Still another distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole field of the introduction to sociology is Hornell Hart's, *The Science of Social Relations*. In this volume, too, the publishers have spared no pains to present to the student of society a large and substantial volume, following their established policy as exemplified in their notable books in psychology, ethics, history, and government, and in later uniform volumes like Bernard's *Introduction to Social Psychology* and Odum's *Man's Quest for Social Guidance*. *The Science of Social Relations* is a new book in every sense of the word, planned especially for stimulating teacher



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and student, and for making vivid the processes and products of human relationships. It is essentially a type study in functional teaching, and integrates most successfully the various relations of individuals to each other and to groups, and to historical and theoretical backgrounds. The inclusion of hundreds of instance-cases with unlimited opportunity for varied interpretation and use makes the book a single pioneer in the field. Some of the points of challenge in this book will no doubt include:

Its partial emphasis upon behaviorism and behavioristic interpretation of human relationships.

Its special emphasis upon the instance or special type of case method.

Its special emphasis upon the individual and the social personality.

Its special emphasis upon the psychological approach and interpretation of society.

Its interesting, stimulating, and "popular" style, and its tendency to take a large part of the teaching load from the instructor.

Its frank emphasis upon the importance of correlating sociology with social problems.

Other new texts in sociology perhaps more elementary and of lesser scope include volumes by Groves, Wallace, and Fairchild. Still another half dozen larger volumes presenting comprehensive views of society are in preparation, and if they prove as valuable, as stimulating, and as sure to stir up wholesome criticism and discussion as the ones already published, these columns will have plenty of basis for lively discussion in the future. And *Social Forces* will welcome and coöperate with *The Social Service Review*, *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, and *Social Science Abstracts*, about which more will be said later.

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# SOCIAL FORCES

September, 1927

## THE SOUTH AND THE NEW SOCIETY

WALTER LIPPMANN

THERE are many observers in this country who believe that nothing, since the opening of the West, has so great a meaning to the future of America as the profound transformation which is now taking place in the economic structure and with that in the political and intellectual outlook of the southern states. For nearly seventy-five years the South has lived in the shadows of a great controversy, of a great war, and of the awful consequences of that war. Within my own life-time the proposal has been seriously considered in Congress to govern it by military force. During that time the South has not been able to play an adult rôle in the management of American affairs. But now the period of the eclipse is over. There is no longer any doubt about it. From now on the South will be part of this epoch-making change.

The South will be called upon to guide a radical alteration in agricultural life. She will be confronted with the rise of great industries. She will have to solve the problems which industrial progress brings in its train, the problems of the great city, of congestion, of health, of education, of relations between employer and employe, of the relations between town and countryside. She will have to ask whether her political system, her peculiar party system, is adequate to

these new times. The South, along with all other sections and regions, will have to decide what she will do about the imperial destiny of this nation, and of how it is to adjust itself to the needs and ambitions of the other great nations of the earth. But surely the South cannot be less conscious of all this than one who observes from a distance, and it would be an impertinence to dwell upon it any longer. This discussion offers no advice as to how the problems of this new era in the South should be solved.

Nevertheless, those who build a new civilization should be reminded that they must not shrink from contemplating a great future for themselves. Those nations which have left the deepest mark upon history have always been greatly conscious of their destiny. The Greeks, the Romans, the Jews in ancient times, the English and the French in modern times, have had no doubt that they were a great people. The South, if my observation is correct, is still doubtful of its own possibilities. It need not be. Everything that was ever possible for civilized men is possible here. If the South fails she will have only herself to blame, and if she succeeds she will have only herself to thank.

The man born into this American society of ours confronts a world which differs



radically in its character from that world into which his ancestors were born. Whether he lives in a big city, or in a country district which is closely related to a big city, makes little difference here. The world to which he has to adapt himself, the world in which he has to find his way, the world which he has ultimately to master, is essentially unlike the world into which his grandfather was born. There is a change of scale; there is a change of pace; there is a change in fundamental assumptions which make the intellectual, and the moral, and the spiritual problem of the modern man unique.

Let us examine briefly three major respects in which the environment of the modern man is unique. He lives, first of all, in a world where most of the facts he has to deal with, and where most of the forces that affect him, are unseen. The greater part of his environment is invisible. His great grandfather, who lived in a village community, could see with his own eyes practically all the people with whom he had to do business. The main affairs of his community were in the hands of men whom he knew. The economic relations of his time were between people whom he knew. He saw with his own eyes the farms, the workshops, the stores, the market places, which affected his livelihood. The modern man's position is totally different. He works and sells his goods to unknown people in a distant market. He buys goods from people living on distant continents. If he is an industrial worker, he sees only a part of the product on which he works. He works for owners whom he has never seen. He is directed by executives, by bankers on whom he has never laid eyes. He votes for politicians about whom he knows only through the newspapers. His knowledge of events

comes to him through great impersonal organizations like the press, the moving picture and the radio. On most of the great events of the day his knowledge is not vivid and direct, but second-hand and pale.

And these events which he knows so indirectly are in themselves so extraordinarily complicated that experts who devote their lives to understanding them can master only fragments of their subject. Theoretically each man is a sovereign citizen directing the destinies of this nation, but he has to direct those destinies in regard to questions about which it is, humanly speaking, impossible for him to have adequate knowledge, or normally to have accurate knowledge. Moreover, just because the events with which he has to deal are both invisible and complicated, they are to him very often dull and uninteresting. It is one of the greatest paradoxes of modern democracy that the questions of greatest interest to the mass of mankind are not interesting. To most of mankind the great questions of diplomacy, which ultimately work themselves out in terms of war and peace; the great questions of national economy, which affect the livelihood, the prosperity, the social standing of every person, are so intricate, so technical, and therefore, to most men so dull, that they produce a yawn rather than vivid interest.

The second respect in which the situation of the modern man differs from that of his ancestor is that there exists today no authoritative and organized body of knowledge which it is possible for any living man to absorb. At the climax of the Greek civilization Aristotle could encompass the whole field of human knowledge; at the climax of the great medieval civilization St. Thomas Aquinas could do the same with the knowledge of his day. It is no longer possible to present



anyone with a complete and digestible statement of human knowledge. Where once the knowledge of mankind was inclusive and within the range of human power to learn, the knowledge of today is in constant flux, is vaster than anyone's memory, and the essential spirit of it is, that what is believed to be true today may tomorrow prove to be wrong.

In the third place, the situation of the modern man is unique because in regard to the world in which he has daily to act there no longer exists an authoritative body of morals in which he can find rules for the guidance of his conduct. I do not wish to deny that there are still great general principles of morality to which people sincerely adhere. I do wish to point out that in the application of these principles to the concrete situations of today, whether in industry, in politics, or in family life, there is great disagreement, and there is no authoritative interpretation. Nothing, for example, could be simpler or more direct than the Ten Commandments, but where is the man, where is the body of men, who can say authoritatively how the Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill" applies to the problem of war, or to the question of capital punishment for capital crime?

Because the environment of the modern man is unseen, complicated and difficult to understand, because there exists in regard to modern life no authoritative body of knowledge which any single human being can fully master, and because there exists no authoritative code of morals which can guide his conduct securely and with safety, life has become for every modern youth an inquiry and an adventure. For the inquiry he needs above all to be curious and to be disinterested; and for the adventure he needs above all to have courage. In a more absolute sense than ever before, man today is dependent upon an honest

and illuminating interpretation of the facts of his environment.

So if we are to live in this modern age and deal successfully with it we must commit ourselves to the belief that life is an unending inquiry and that living is an unending experiment and adventure. Because we are committed to that we must maintain at all costs the liberty to think and the liberty to experiment, must maintain it against fools, against fanatics, against every vested interest.

The war for liberty never ends. One day liberty has to be defended against the power of wealth, on another day against the intrigues of politicians, on another against the dead hand of bureaucrats, on another against the patrioteer and the militarist, on another against the profiteer, and then against the hysteria and passions of mobs, against obscurantism and stupidity, against the criminal and against the over-righteous. In this campaign every civilized man is enlisted till he dies, and he only has known the full joy of living who somewhere and at some time has struck a decisive blow for the freedom of the human spirit.

But it is not enough to maintain liberty. We have a still higher and more difficult task. It is the peculiar business of education to teach people how to use the liberty they inherit and how to pass it on to the next generation, enlarged, enriched, and made more secure. It is not enough to vindicate liberty in legislatures, in courts, in the press, in school boards, and before public opinion. There is a personal discipline necessary to the use of liberty. Without the discipline men never will love liberty and never will cherish it. They will be like a savage who by accident finds a delicate instrument and carelessly throws it away.

If people are to use liberty and not to be bewildered and overwhelmed by it

they must be relieved of their fears and their anxieties. You know how often through careless and superstitious ignorance in their early training men and women are poisoned with unreasoning fears. You know how many human lives are distracted and reduced to futility by subtle and uncontrollable fears. The fear of personal inferiority, the fear of what others will say, the fear of losing the social position one has, or of not acquiring the position one would like, fears of vanity, fears about love, fears about disease, fears about death. If men are to live free lives and to use liberty, the last great tyrant from which they must emancipate themselves is their own fear. Fears are the foundation of every tyranny in the world. There never was a tyrant, there never was a despot, there never was a demagogue whose power did not rest finally on the irrational and superstitious fear of his followers. We must emancipate this generation from fear. We must track down these fears to their source in early childhood. We must bring them out into the light. We must cure them with conscious understanding. We must create a generation of men who can look upon death, disease, and misfortune without flinching, who can greet the adventure of life with a regular pulse, with a clear eye and with serene confidence. And we must make war upon the bogies, make war upon the taboos, make war upon the sacred cows, make war upon spooks and devils, and all the private hells that human fear creates.

Then, and then only, when we shall have cleansed the passions of anxiety, will we be ready to discipline the mind for its work of understanding. What is that discipline of the mind, that essentially modern discipline which is necessary to a proper grasp and control upon the complex and unseen environment of the modern

man? It is fundamentally a training in the capacity to give oneself to the situation, to accept the objective facts as they are, and not to be governed in one's thinking by private and often unconscious dogmas as to what the facts ought to be. Not many of us have learned how to see the world lucidly and disinterestedly. We do not see this poor man and that; we see the poor. We do not see this agitator and that reformer; we see radicals and bolsheviks. We do not see the facts; we see our own preconceptions as to what the facts ought to be. But we shall never find our way through the maze of this modern world until we learn to see it plainly, directly, unsentimentally, calmly, as it is. The capacity for objective perception, the capacity for disinterested vision, the capacity to be totally indifferent to the consequences, is the most difficult and the most important of the intellectual virtues.

We have heard it said a thousand times and we know it to be fundamentally true, that youth today as it comes under the influence of modern thought and into contact with modern conditions, is no longer governed by the older moral tradition, is no longer held by the ancient spiritual sanctions, is no longer inspired by the ancient purposes. The result is an immense amount of experiment by trial and error. This is not evil. Moreover, it is inevitable. What impresses me in the lives of my own generation, and of the one which is younger than mine, is not its wildness, nor the jazz, the cocktails and the like, but the dreariness and the sense of futility which haunts the very best of young men and young women. They do not know what it is all about. Their ancestors in this country had a definite purpose, to conquer the wilderness and to establish their economic security. They had a religious purpose, for they felt themselves to be participants in a cosmic

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drama which extended through all Eternity. But the modern young man, what has he in his life that takes the place of those things? There is a dreary and bitter theological controversy between fundamentalists and liberals. There is the insistent preachment by his national leaders of a complacent gospel of prosperity. I tell you he looks upon this with a cynical and fishy eye. He does not find that sense of purpose and meaning, that feeling of communion with a high destiny, without which no man can be wholly happy. Our young people amuse themselves furiously. Their tragedy is that they are not very happy.

Their elders are teaching them the wrong lesson and giving them the wrong example. They are preaching to them a gospel of the competitive acquisition of material things. That is a gospel of dust and ashes. You cannot live by

motor cars and radios alone; only as novelties do they give great satisfaction. The younger generation takes them for granted and is looking for something else.

That something else must in the nature of things consist of those objects of desire which do not grow less no matter how many people possess them, which do not grow stale no matter how long they are used. These are the ideal possessions of mankind, its sciences and its arts. These alone are open to all men who can possess them. These alone cause no regrets. The task of education in the end is to introduce youth into this ideal world of contemplation, so that it may desire those things which are forever interesting. "The seeker shall not rest till he finds that which he seeks, but when he has found it, he shall wonder, and when he has wondered, he shall be master and when he is master, he shall find rest."

## ELEVEN QUESTIONS CONCERNING AMERICAN MARRIAGES

WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN

MARRIAGE has been said to be one of the three great events of life—birth, marriage, and death. Perhaps not every one would accord marriage so high a rank. It is sometimes the butt of merriment in the theater; but humour has a way of appearing in the most tensely serious situations of life. In the scale of the importance of things, marriage ought to rank at least as high as, say, the tariff. But the libraries probably would show many more shelves of scientific books on the tariff than on marriage. And certainly in the legislative halls the flow of words has been more voluminous on the tariff than on marriage.

However, the worthiness of marriage as a problem of scientific study is rapidly according it a place of considerable dignity. No doubt the growing strength of the voice of women in matters that count will be one of the things that will bring the problems of marriage, the family, and the child to the fore in the coming century.

Marriage is important because it is probably more closely related to that elusive thing we call happiness than any other social institution, unless it be perhaps the church. Our economic organization brings us physical comforts and material well-being, but it does not always



bring happiness. At least one is not impressed by the intense happiness that one meets among one's wealthy acquaintances. The close relation of marriage to happiness is attested by the common phrases, "a happy marriage," and "an unhappy marriage." Marriage has been so conceived by the dramatist, the essayist, and the novelist. Probably most of the writing on the subject of marriage has been done by these groups, but it ought to be the province of science as well as of literature. It is to be hoped that in the future it will be the concern of the physiologist, the psychologist, and the sociologist as well.

Marriage is so broad in scope, with so many sides, that no one book can hope to cover it completely. The province of this paper is limited to information about marriage that has been objectively and statistically obtained for the United States. The merit of such an objective treatment is that it presents information with a certain precision, completeness, and reliability. And although this treatment does not answer some of the questions about which we are most curious, these definite facts throw a good deal of light on some of the points.

#### I. IS MARRIAGE A DESIRABLE STATE?

Most persons think of marriage as being a desirable condition, yet there seem to be bachelors and spinsters who appear content, at least so far as external signs show; and also, as we all know, there are unhappy marriages. But we wish to know the general rule, not the individual case. Statistics throw some light on this question. For instance, the death-rate of single men is nearly twice as great as the death-rate of married men. And since one generally considers that ill health is related to death, it would thus seem that married life is more healthful than single

life for men. While it may be argued, that it is not marriage that is more healthful, but rather that it is the healthy men who marry, the death-rate is also nearly twice as great for the widowed and divorced men who have once been married. But again, some widowers and divorced men re-marry, and it may be that it is the healthier ones who re-marry. Yet, on the other hand, there is not much difference between the death-rate of single women and married women. Would marriage select the healthy men but not the healthy women? Why is there so much difference between the death-rates of single men and married men, and yet so little difference between the death-rates of single women and married women?

So also there appears to be more insanity among both single men and single women than among married men and married women when their ages are the same. And so, also, crime seems to be more prevalent among the single than among the married, at equal age periods. It is not absolutely proven that in general the single life is more conducive to crime and insanity than is married life, for the factor of selection may enter. This whole complex question is discussed in the chapter which follows. The statistics in general, however, lead to the presumption, though they do not prove it, that marriage is a desirable state with regard to these social conditions of death, crime, and insanity.

#### II. WHAT IS THE EXTENT OF MARRIAGE?

All primitive peoples have the institution of marriage, and apparently it has always existed in one form or another. Furthermore, among primitive peoples it is very rare to find an old adult who has never married. Yet in the United States in 1920, about 1 in every 10 persons over 45 years of age had never married. Could there have been a biological change in



## QUESTIONS CONCERNING AMERICAN MARRIAGES

man's sexual capacities since the days of his primitive life? Is civilization more artificial in this respect? Is it a matter of selfishness? Or have the economic and social conditions affecting the family changed? Of those over 15 years old, about 6 out of every 10 are married. The age period at which most persons are reported married is from 35 years to 45 years. At this age period 80 per cent are married. This means that 20 per cent are, at the ages of maximum marriage, living in the unmarried state, as single, widowed, or divorced.

### III. HOW OFTEN IS MARRIAGE BROKEN BY DIVORCE?

Society is much interested in the breaking of marriage by divorce. Marriage is frequently broken by death, but death is partly beyond man's control. Separation, frequently leading to divorce, is also a cause of the dissolution of marriage. Furthermore, the happiness of marriage is broken at times, even when couples continue to live together. Yet divorce is the peculiar concern of society, partly because it is usually undertaken with the idea of forming another family group through a re-marriage. The fact that in 1924 there was one divorce granted to about every 7 marriages performed indicates that divorce is very common. Moreover, the chances of a marriage entered into in 1924 being broken by divorce may perhaps be nearer 1 to 5 or 6 than 1 to 7. There were in 1924 about 15 to 16 times as many divorces as there were in 1870, and yet the population is only about 3 times as large.

### IV. WHY DO COUPLES GET DIVORCES?

The causes of divorce are of two sorts: the immediate inciting causes recognized as legal grounds for divorce, and the more fundamental causes that lie in the nature

of society or in human nature. Court records give us little information about these basic causes, for many of them are found in the decline in various functions of the family. The family used to be the economic unit in the older agricultural society, but now these services have passed to the state, the factory, the restaurant, and the store. The protective function has passed in large measure to the state, the courts, the school, the health boards, etc. Recreation is still a home affair to a slight extent, but it has become largely commercialized. The religious function has passed largely from the home, due to changes in the nature of religious beliefs and creeds. The school is taking younger and younger children, and there are fewer and fewer of them. The loss of these functions is still going on, and there seems no immediate prospect of their being restored, unless, perchance, some modern invention, such as the distribution of power by electricity, restores the home industries and other functions. All these functions were ties or bonds that helped to keep the members of the family together. As these ties weakened, more divorce and separation were perhaps to be expected, since the only tie remaining intact was the affectional function. The affectional tie seems to be variable in our original nature or by its conditioning, so that there is a problem of mismating, and in this case readjustments may take place by the methods of divorce. This whole problem of the psychological and physiological aspects of mating has been little studied, but as its nature becomes better known, marriage may become more stable.

The most important of the immediate causes for divorce as shown in the divorce records are cruelty, desertion, and adultery, named in the order of their frequency. Cruelty is becoming more and

more a ground for divorce, and, on the surface, the husband is more often the offending party. About two-thirds of the divorces are granted to wives, due to the nature of the laws and of the position of man in society. The presence of children tends to hold the family together, for only a small percentage of couples divorced report having children. Cities that have lower birth-rates have slightly more divorces, and those that have larger percentages of the population married in the earlier years of adulthood, have slightly more divorced persons. Either early marriage or divorce might be the causal factor.

In cities one finds the economic functions as well as other functions of the family greatly reduced from what they are in the rural districts. And since the divorce-rate is greater for cities than for the agricultural regions, there seem to be no signs of a slackening of the increase of divorce in the United States. One wonders whether there is a natural limit. Presumably, if divorce were unrestricted by laws or by social disapproval, we should still have an organized family with a fair measure of stability, more certainly in middle and late life. Any natural or mathematical limit to the divorce-rate seems rather far removed, and it is quite conceivable that the increase may continue for some time.

#### V. WHAT ARE THE SEX DIFFERENCES WITH REGARD TO MARRIAGE?

Marriage has, no doubt, a somewhat different significance for women than for men. Formerly, man in choosing a wife chose a business partner as well, but this is not so much the case today. Now man chooses a wife as a mate, but to a woman a husband means not only a mate but a livelihood. Thus, marriage would seem to be more important for woman than for

man. In the early years of the marriageable ages there are more women than men married. As to the cause, it may be that man has to postpone marriage for economic reasons, whereas woman does not—indeed, she may for economic reasons be interested in marrying early. Some evidence is presented later to show that the employment of women postpones marriage, though it may be that employment selects a type of woman who would postpone marriage in any case. Not only do women mature biologically somewhat earlier than men, but in our society sex expression is less inhibited for men than for women. There is the so-called "double standard of morality."

The percentages of women married are greater than of men for ages under the age period 35-44 years, and the percentages of men married are greater after the age period 45-54. Of men over 65 years old, two-thirds are married; while of women over 65 years of age, only one-third are married. The death-rates for men and women in the later years of life do not differ greatly, yet there are twice as many widows as widowers. It seems that there is a tendency for the older men and widowers to marry young women. The fact that older men are in an advantageous position for undertaking matrimony on economic grounds, may explain in part the excess of older married men. Moreover, the statistics indicate that the younger women are more desirable than the older widows. The reasons, therefore, for the earlier marriage of women and the later marriage of men seems to be a mixture of biological and economic conditions.

Other interesting facts regarding the differences between men and women as to marriage are shown in the influence of the sex ratio upon marriage. Our cities vary a good deal in the proportion of men to women. Some of the Eastern and

Southern cities have excesses of women, while many Western cities have large excesses of men. At first thought there would appear to be the largest percentages of the population married when the sexes were equal in numbers, but that is not the case. The maximum percentages married are when there are excesses of men, around 120 men to 100 women. Why is this? The answer may be sought in certain other peculiarities of the relationships between the sex ratio and marriage. For instance, the percentage of men who are married depends upon the supply of women. Thus, when there are 60 men to 199 women, 77 per cent of the adult males are married; but when there are 180 men to 100 women, only 67 per cent of the men are married—a decline in percentages married of 10. For the same sex ratios, of course, the percentages of women married increase. For instance, when there are 100 women to 60 men, 55 per cent of the women are married; but when there are 100 women to 180 men, then 89 per cent of the women are married—an increase in percentages married of 34. Can we not say, therefore, that in marrying women are much more dependent on the supply of men than men are on the supply of women? Why is this so? Is it due to physiological reasons? Or to economic and social reasons? This greater variability seems to be in harmony with the theory that man takes the initiative in proposing marriage.

#### VI. AT WHAT AGES DO INDIVIDUALS MARRY?

The age of marriage is an important matter. It is important because of the difference between the biological age for marriage and the economic age for marriage. The capacity to produce and bear children develops shortly after puberty; so also do sex impulses become strong at this time. Most primitive peoples marry

before 20 years of age, many at 14, 15, and 16 years. It therefore seems physiologically natural to marry in the 'teens.

On the other hand, it is questionable whether young people are socially prepared for marriage so early in life. More and more time is needed for education. In our complex society certain wisdom is needed for handling the problems of family and marriage. Then, too, the economic burden of marriage falls largely on the young man, who often is not prepared to support a wife until he has obtained an increased income, which frequently comes only with maturing years. It thus comes about that in our society the economic age for marriage and the biological age for marriage do not coincide, particularly with the young man. There is naturally some variation with economic classes and occupations.

Of the young men 18 years old, only 1 in 37 was married in 1924, while among the young women 1 in 5 was married. Of the men 20 years old, one-eighth were married, as compared with three-eighths of the women of that age. Between 25 and 26 years of age, one-half of the men were married, and two-thirds of the women. Thus there is considerable postponement of marriage beyond a suitable biological age for beginning marriage. There are, no doubt, many social consequences of such a postponement about which it would be interesting to speculate.

#### VII. WHAT ARE THE RACIAL DIFFERENCES AS TO MARRIAGE?

There are in the United States, in addition to whites, two large racial groups—the Negro and the Indian. Neither the Negro nor the Indian as a group lives under primitive conditions, and the social and economic position of the Indian is further removed from the whites than that of the Negro. The Indian is largely engaged in



farming, while there are a good many urban Negroes. With age distributions the same, there are larger percentages of Indians married than Negroes, and larger percentages of Negroes married than whites, though the differences are slight. The percentages are 63.2 for Indians over 15 years of age, 61.2 for Negroes, and 59.6 for whites. Thus there is only a slight difference. With the same age distribution, the native white stock has 61.4 per cent of those 15 years old and over married, the white immigrants, 60.9; but the American-born children of immigrants for the same ages have only 54.2 per cent married.

This smaller percentage of those married of the native whites of foreign or mixed percentage is true of the city and of the rural districts, and in different regions and for each age period. Particularly does this class postpone marriage. Of these sons and daughters of immigrants over 45 years of age, 14.4 per cent have never married, while only about 9 per cent of other whites over 45 years of age have never married. Only 29 per cent of the children of immigrants, 20-24 years of age, are married, while 42 per cent of the native white stock of the same ages are married. Why is there this relative tendency of the children of immigrants not to marry? We have found no answer, but it has been suggested that they postpone marriage in order to better themselves in the social and economic scale; the men postpone marriage because of the economic burden, while the women wait for economic improvement.

The Negroes are a different race, with different traditions from the whites, and one might expect peculiarities in the status of marriage among them. Negroes, in general, are common laborers and farm laborers; and what is perhaps more significant for marriage, a great many Negro

women work outside the home before and after marriage, and may be said to be economically independent. It should also be said, however, that the Negro strives to adopt the culture pattern of the whites.

Early marriage is more frequent among Negroes than among whites. Nearly one-third of all Negroes between 15 and 25 years of age are married, whereas only a little over one-fifth of the whites at these ages are married. Are differences in social and economic incentives the cause? Early marriage, however, does not seem to be so noticeable among Indians.

There is a smaller percentage of older Negro women married than of older white women, and there is a very large percentage of Negro widows. When the age distributions of the whites and the Negroes are the same, there is among Negro women 15 years old and over about 1 widow in every 5 or 6 women, whereas among white women there is about 1 in 10. A particularly large percentage of young Negro women are married. Can the economic independence of Negro women account for both the early marriage of Negro women and the small number that are found married in later life? Among white women in rural districts a large percentage will be found married, because, it is argued, of their economic function. The Negro woman has also an economic function, but Negro women are perhaps paid in money wages more frequently than white women in rural districts.

#### VIII. IS THE STATUS OF MARRIAGE DIFFERENT IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES

The largest percentages of the population are found married in the Southeastern states, and the smallest percentages in New England. Why should there be this



difference? This is true particularly for the rural regions, but it is true also for urban districts, and includes the native whites in both urban and rural districts. It cannot be explained on the basis of proportion of the sexes. Is this difference due to climate? Boys and girls are supposed to mature slightly earlier in warm climates, and there are many more early marriages in the South than in New England. Yet climate does not give a satisfactory explanation; for in the east north-central states there are large percentages of the population married, while in the southern states of California, Arizona, and New Mexico there are small percentages married. If the difference is to be explained on the basis of custom and tradition, one wonders how the different traditions came about.

#### IX. IS MARRIAGE DIMINISHING?

In general, there seem to be more married persons in relation to the population among peoples with simple cultures than among peoples in highly civilized nations. Our grandparents are generally considered to have married earlier in life than young people do today. Hence, it seems natural to infer that there is less marriage today than formerly. This may be true, but since 1890, the date of the first publication of full statistics of marital conditions, marriage has increased, and so also has early marriage. In 1890, 55.3 per cent of the population 15 years old and over were married; in 1920, 59.9 per cent were married. This increase is, in part, due to the fact that there are more older people in the United States today than there were in 1890, owing to adult immigration, a diminishing birth-rate, and the prolongation of life. However, if the age distribution had been the same in 1920 as it was in 1890, there would have been 56.8 per cent married as against 55.3 in 1890. This

increase would still have been greater if our cities had not grown more rapidly than our rural districts. The percentages of single and widowed have decreased, but the percentage of divorced has increased. This increase has been marked in the age periods from 15 to 35; for in the older age periods there has been a decrease since 1890. Why there has been this decrease is not clear, but it is perhaps due to causes operating a generation or so ago. The increase in early marriage has occurred despite the prolonged period of schooling and the keen competition for wealth. This increase has occurred both in urban and in rural districts.

#### X. WHAT IS THE INFLUENCE OF CITY LIFE ON MARRIAGE?

Cities are a comparatively modern phenomenon. During the period of history, agricultural life has been predominant. In the rural districts women have had many economic functions; but it is in the cities that we find the greatest decline in the family functions, particularly in the economic functions of the wife. It is important, therefore, to ask what influence city life has on marriage. In cities (over 2,500 inhabitants), 57 per cent of the population 15 years old and over were married in 1920, while in rural districts (under 2,500 inhabitants), 63.5 per cent were married, when the age distribution was the same. One might say, therefore, that city life discourages marriage by about 10 per cent.

The rural districts seem especially favorable to married women. Among 1,000 rural women there are 17 per cent more married women than there are among 1,000 urban women. Fifty-three per cent of the men in the United States live in cities, and 56 per cent of the women. The city seems to attract single women and widows. Fifty-four per cent of the

single men live in cities, and 59 per cent of the single women. Of women 20-34 years old, 58 per cent live in cities; while of women of other age groups, only 54 per cent live in cities, which would indicate a preference on the part of young women for the city.

The scarcity of single women in rural districts is further noted by the fact that out of 1,000 women 25 years old and over living in rural districts, only 93 are single, while out of 1,000 city women of the same age group, 158 are single—an increase of 68 per cent over the group of single women living in rural districts. Can the difference be explained on economic grounds? Is it because the economic function of the woman in the country lies in the home, while in the city her economic service is often outside the home? Would these differences in economic functions also explain the fact that 206 out of 1,000 urban men 25 years old and over are married, whereas in the country there are only 163 men out of 1,000 of this age group who are single.

#### XI. WHAT OTHER FACTORS AFFECT MARRIAGE?

The development of manufacturing is a great characteristic of our age. One wonders what the specific influence of manufacturing is on marriage. Manufacturing, as judged by comparisons of manufacturing cities with other cities, seems to increase marriage slightly, and more particularly, early marriage, but in part because it attracts young men. Cities that are manufacturing centers have the

largest percentages of married women, when the percentage of women employed is the same from city to city. There are also fewer widows and smaller percentages of the population divorced in manufacturing cities. The employment of women seems to postpone marriage and result in slightly fewer women married.

One is also curious to know whether birth control influences marriage. Some persons argue that it does, because then there is not at once the economic burden of children. Others argue that it encourages sexual intercourse outside of marriage, and hence operates against marriage. Cities with lower birth-rates have larger percentages of young people married, when the ages of the wives is approximately the same from city to city. It is thus indicated that birth control may encourage marriage.

As to the influence of economic factors on marriage, it is thought that in a given community when there is an increase in income there are more marriages. The fact that there are more marriages in business prosperity than during business depression fits in with this hypothesis, as does also the fact that rapidly growing cities (growing presumably because of economic opportunities) have larger percentages of married people. On the other hand, where class standards of living have been worked out, poorer groups may have larger percentages married than groups with higher living standards. Cities with higher incomes seem to have a very slightly lower percentage married.

## THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT TENDENCIES OF SOCIOLOGY IN ARGENTINA<sup>1</sup>

L. L. BERNARD

IN 1913, while planning methods of measuring the influence of environment upon collective and individual behavior, it occurred to me that as one (not the only) method of making such an investigation it would be worth while to study the development of the social sciences in some country and trace these sciences back to their origins in the national life and traditions and in the cultural influences, direct and indirect, operating upon that country from other countries. The advantage of taking the social sciences as an object of study for the measurement of environmental influences is that they are definite and clearly defined. They are written down, specific, determinable, and measurable. The tactical advantage of selecting such a subject rests on the fact that it has a very wide appeal to workers in many fields and that it also contains the element of human interest.

For purposes of efficiency in technique it was necessary to select a country fairly advanced in the social sciences, yet a country in which the volume of material would not be too great to cover within the period provided for by my grant.<sup>1</sup> Also, the history of this country should be well defined and fairly brief, in order that

causal factors and interrelations might stand out with effectiveness. And, preferably, this country should be at such a distance geographically that external influences could be the more easily isolated and detected. The three countries that suggested themselves were Japan, Australia, and Argentina. The language barrier was too great to make use of Japan as a case. In Australia the cultural contacts with England appeared to be too close and nearly exclusive to secure the necessary contrast and competition of factors and to eliminate the possibility of the biological factor. Argentina, however, appeared to be ideal for my purposes, for it fulfilled all of the other conditions mentioned and at the same time it was evident that the external sources of its science were not those primarily of the mother country. This made possible the elimination of the biological presupposition. The results of the choice have been most gratifying.

If one should attempt to arrange Argentine sociology in periods—remembering, of course, that all classifications are in high degree artificial and subjective attempts at securing perspective—the subject matter would probably fall into three fairly well defined groups, which necessarily overlap: (1) the preliminary period extending from 1837, the year in which the *Credo* of the "Young Argentine" group was drawn up, until the death of Echeverria in 1851; (2) the period of historical and particularistic theories of the interpretation of Argentine social institutions and individual traits, beginning with the publication of Sarmiento's *Facundo, or Civilization and Barbarism* in 1845 and

<sup>1</sup>The study, of which this paper is a condensed statement, was made on a grant from and under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council, Inc. The paper was read before the American Sociological Society, December, 1926, by Professor E. A. Ross, in the absence of the writer. For complete bibliography to supplement this paper see bibliographical note on "Sociology in Argentina," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1927. See also, "Ernesto Quesada, Argentine Sociologist," *Research Bulletin*, University of Chicago, of even date.



extending to the end of the century; and (3) the period of special scientific studies of selected periods or phases of Argentine society on the one hand and of attempts at a general or systematic sociology on the other hand, falling within the last thirty years. Each of these types of sociological emphasis extends into the succeeding stage, but tends to diminish in relative importance. Within these several major divisions there is also a variety of secondary tendencies, the most recent of which is a curious reaction against scientific method in sociology and in the direction of metaphysical and even mystical interpretations, doubtless in part the Argentine philosophical analogue of our cruder North American predilection for so-called Fundamentalism. Each of these types and tendencies in Argentine sociology will later be considered in some detail.

Considering the subject from the standpoint of the factors or influences at work in producing these types of sociology, we may distinguish clearly two sets of factors. Almost exclusively the method of study and interpretation has come from Europe, while the selection of the subject matter for interpretation has been determined in a very unusual degree by Argentine conditions and traditions. Argentina is decidedly the home of national sociology. The European countries which have had most to do with the development of Argentine sociology are France (always first), England, Italy, Spain, and Germany. English influence came primarily from Bentham, Mill, Buckle, and Spencer, and the influence of the last was in no sense the least. The Italian influence was at first primarily from Ferri, Loria and other economic interpretationists and positivists and was strongest from 1890 until the great war. Since the war Croce and the neo-Kantians of Italy have played an appreciable rôle in Argentine sociological

thought. The Spanish influence has been almost wholly intermediary, since it has been the chief avenue through which North American sociology entered Argentina. Adolfo Posada translated both Giddings' *Principles of Sociology* and Ward's *Outlines of Sociology* and these translations reached Argentina in the first decade of the Twentieth Century. Later Ward's *Pure Sociology* and Ellwood's *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects* came through French translations and exercised a profound influence, especially upon the sociologists of the University of Cordoba and more recently of the University of the Litoral on the Parana. German influence has come only within the last decade and has been exercised primarily through Simmel, Spengler, and Stammer, as will be explained later. The details of these various contacts, and also the account of the way in which the local environment and history have reacted upon the subject matter of Argentine sociology, can best be given in connection with the sketch of the development of sociology in Argentina.

In introducing this outline, I wish to emphasize the fact—it cannot be over-emphasized—that no one can expect to understand Argentine sociology—its emphases and its omissions—without making himself reasonably familiar with Argentine history. The development of sociology in this country is so intimately tied up with the history of the country that it is in a special sense a part of that history. Spain's repressive policy at home and in her colonies had left the peoples which later became Argentina with little knowledge of any sort of social theory. Manuel Belgrano had been educated in Europe and had brought back to his position as secretary to the Consulado an outlook which made him the initiator of various economic reforms in the colonial administration at the end of the Eighteenth Century

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which helped to prepare the way for the Revolution of 1810. The Napoleonic conquest of Spain and the suspension of the legitimate Spanish monarchy gave the people of the Rio de la Plata region an opportunity for revolution. The invasions of the English in 1805, and their sojourn in the country for several months, during which period they established masonic lodges and stimulated the upper classes to aspire to more democratic institutions, offered a strong impetus to the revolutionary movement. The revolution itself was accomplished by a union between the "criollos" or native born of Spanish descent, and the mixed breeds, who constituted the laboring classes, in common cause against the Spanish in the country. Practically all economic privileges in the colony and the administration of the government were reserved for those born in Spain. But the criollos were now sufficiently numerous to demand a new order of things. The English invasions taught them to organize and train the mestizos to fight, first against the English, and later against the regular soldiers of Spain.

Once the revolution was accomplished, the criollos were compelled to govern themselves. The two men who stand out most prominently, as most intelligent, best trained, and most far seeing in the revolutionary period, are Mariano Moreno and Bernardino Rivadavia. The former had been trained in the University of Charcas, in Bolivia, and had imbibed the doctrines of the French Revolution. He edited Rousseau's *Social Contract* and published it in Buenos Aires for the civic instruction of the youth. So strong was his personality that, although he died at the age of thirty-three, after less than one year in the government, he has influenced the democratic tendencies of the country throughout its history. His writings in

*La Gaceta*, together with the writings of a similar, if less well balanced successor of his—Bernardo Monteagudo—constitute the first statement of theory in Argentina which might be called pre-sociological, or politico-social.

Rivadavia, as agent of his young government, spent the years 1816-1821 in Europe, especially in Spain, France, and England, where he attended lectures in the universities and knew personally Bentham, James Mill, Destutt de Tracy, and similar thinkers of the new social spirit. On his return to Buenos Aires in 1821 he became minister of government and until his resignation from the presidency and withdrawal from the country in 1827 he pursued with energy a policy of reforms in education, the church, and the government which reminds one more of Joseph II of Austria than of the ordinary ruler of that day. He established a university (that of Buenos Aires) in which Benthamitic principles were taught in law and the sensationalism of Condillac in philosophy, while the work of James Mill was translated and used as a text in political economy. He established the Society for Beneficence, which has persisted until this day as the relief giving body of the country. Among many other reforms, he planned to distribute the lands among the people. But this and other policies brought upon him the united opposition of the conservatives and of the great land holders and he was forced out of office. He went into exile and spent practically the remainder of his life in Uruguay, France, Spain, and Brazil. He was succeeded by a series of caudillos or tyrants, culminating in Rosas, who ruled practically from 1829 until 1852, when he too was driven out of power to die in exile. In this year the government was established on a stable constitutional basis and has continued to the present day.

Rivadavia was too busy to write treatises, but his work was as truly sociological in the applied sense, as that of Moreno and Monteagudo was in the theoretical. These men are to be compared with our own Jeffersonian Democrats, or Republicans, of a somewhat earlier day, but they possessed a more systematic theoretical basis for their policies and they were more intimately allied to the democratic movement of Europe which came in the wake of the French revolution in France and England.

The long epoch of Rosas was an age of the reestablishment of Jesuitical domination, strict censorship of liberal ideas, and of the "Mazorca" or assassination and terror imposed by the red shirted secret society of that name. In the midst of this era some choice spirits of a literary society, suppressed for its liberal tendencies by Rosas, transformed in 1837 their organization into a secret society called "The Young Argentina" in imitation of the Young Italy clubs founded by the Italian revolutionaries in various countries. Practically all of these young men had been students in Rivadavia's liberal university before it was suppressed, but the leading spirit, Esteban Echeverria (1805-1851), was somewhat older than the rest and had had the advantage of a sojourn of five years (1825-1830) in France, where he came in contact with the new ideas of the times. Echeverria was a poet and a romanticist and in his early years had been more apt at thrumming a guitar under a balcony than in conspiring against a bloody dictator. Although Echeverria reached France in the year of Saint-Simon's death he appears to have learned most about his theories through the writings of Leroux after his return to Argentina. Through many years these liberal Young Argentinans were ardent followers of

the theories of Saint-Simon and Leroux and in less degree of the mystical Christianity of Lamennais. Liberal books of this order and the *Revista Enciclopédica* of Leroux were smuggled into Argentina. In this period of the thirties and early forties French influence in Argentine social thinking was almost or quite without competition. For nearly fifteen years liberal thought in this part of South America was almost wholly Saint-Simonian. Many liberal Frenchmen emigrated from France in the reign of Louis Phillipe and settled in Montevideo. The liberal political movement was also strong and for some years Garibaldi, later the Italian liberator, was admiral of the Uruguayan squadron in the nine years' war of defense against Rosas.

# I

In 1837 Echeverria drew up a declaration or *Credo* of fifteen principles, molded after the Saint-Simonian doctrines of Leroux, for the Young Argentina club, and a younger member, Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884), began to propagate these principles throughout Argentina and to work for the establishment of branch clubs. Alberdi was one of the ablest minds of his century and would have been a great man in any country. This activity of Alberdi resulted in the emigration during the years 1838 to 1842 of most of the young liberals to Montevideo, little more than one hundred miles across the bay from Buenos Aires. Alberdi went first, in 1838, and Echeverria followed soon after. In 1842 Rosas laid seige to the city and continued it for nine years. In Montevideo Alberdi continued his propagandistic activities begun in Argentina, sending French literature and a journal which he edited, and encouraged the establishment of branch societies in the



interior provinces. One of these, in San Juan, received into membership Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888), later to be the greatest literary and political rival of Alberdi.

In Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, practically all of the literature of this preliminary sociological period was produced, by the Argentine emigrants. It was here in 1846 that Echeverría published the *Dogma Socialista*, an elaboration of the earlier *Credo* of Buenos Aires. And during the following years before his death in 1851, under the political patronage of Andrés Bello, who had secured political preferment in Uruguay, and of Miguel Cané, the elder, both of whom deserve mention for their early sociological work, Echeverría produced several other writings on social subjects. In these he developed for the first time the economic interpretation of Argentine history, especially of the conflict of factions which brought Rosas into power. This interpretation has come down through Alberdi, Sarmiento, Ingenieros, and others, dominating Argentine sociological thinking almost until this day. Here also both he and Alberdi began to insist that South American courses in philosophy should be practical, that they should first of all interpret the world in which we live, and especially the social and political developments of the countries in which they were taught, as a guide to the youth. Alberdi wrote extensively on this subject in his *Journal* while in Montevideo. Philosophy was the nearest subject in the curriculum of that day to what we call sociology, and his argument is in fact a brief for making philosophy over into sociology, although at this time he apparently had never heard the term sociology and knew nothing of the writings of Comte. His arguments

worried the local professor of philosophy quite as much as in later days the insistence of the sociologists upon the socialization of the curriculum has worried the history teachers and metaphysicians in the United States.

This Young Argentina movement had its analogues in all western countries at this time. In the United States it was the Transcendentalist movement and was more philosophical and more Fourieristic than in the Rio de la Plata region. In the United States it produced no such formal and systematic document as the *Dogma Socialista* of Echeverría, but spent its energies largely in literary essays and phalansteric experiments. The more solid theoretical output among the Argentines is, I think, due to their closer contact with the better and saner French thinking of the time and to the further fact that the Argentine Emigrants worked under the lash of hard political circumstances and felt themselves to be under the necessity of producing practical results. Echeverría, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Cané, López, Gutiérrez worked unceasingly from that day to the end of their lives to free their country from tyranny, to educate it to political responsibility, to enlighten it, to make of it a true democracy. Our own country can boast no finer group of men, none more tireless, more fearless, more able, more consecrated. After 1852, when the fall of Rosas brought their period of exile to a close, their activities passed largely from the phase of theory to that of political education and reconstruction, very similar in spirit to the activities of the abolitionists and enlightened New England statesmen who in a practical manner carried on in a new generation the work begun in a philosophical way by the Transcendentalists before 1850. But these Argentine leaders never lost their interest

in theory and for yet a generation after 1852 these men are the chief sociological writers of the country.

## II

The second period of Argentine sociology or pre-sociology may be said to have been ushered in by the publication of Sarmiento's *Facundo* in 1845, in Chile. In 1842 Alberdi had left Montevideo for Europe, where he studied European social ideas for two years. As a result, his earlier romanticism and Saint-Simonism were transmuted into something more systematic and practical by contact with European social science. His next eight years were spent in Chile in meditation, in study, and in the practice of law, much to the enhancement of his reputation. He had learned the only lesson he could from Saint-Simonism, the doctrine of the essential interdependence of society and the necessity of securing justice and social betterment through some sort of scientific, in contrast to a personalistic or class, organization of society. Having perceived the need he set to work to find the method. In the meantime, Sarmiento, who had lived in the interior instead of on the coast and had seen the actual transformations of Argentine society going on about him, wrote his brilliant study, *Facundo*, bringing to bear the physical environment and the economy of Argentina in the explanation of its history. He applied in practice to the writing of sociology the doctrine of Alberdi and Echeverría enunciated in Montevideo, to the effect that the Argentine thinkers should first study their own society. Sarmiento, who had also been in refuge in Chile for some years, had come in contact with Montesquieu and had applied his method to good advantage.

*Facundo, or Civilization and Barbarism* was a remarkable book for a South American to write in 1845. At that period in

the United States we have no study of the social effects of our national environment which equals or approaches it. But again it may be said that, owing to our greater isolation from the currents of French thought—then the most productive sociologically, as English thought was more productive in the fields of politics and economics—and due to the fact that our more peaceful and relatively uneventful national development did not call so urgently for interpretations of the national life, our sociological or pre-sociological thinking was not yet so mature. And after all, Sarmiento is the only writer of this period who achieved this masterful insight into the philosophy of his own country's history and problems.

In this year, 1845, Sarmiento, having suffered strong opposition from conservatives and churchmen, left Chile and made an extended visit to Europe and the United States. It was in the latter country that he received his greatest inspiration. He came in contact with the Transcendentalists and came to know and love North American institutions as no other Argentinian ever has. For thirty years after the fall of Rosas in 1852 he devoted his powerful energies and will and intelligence to the reconstruction of Argentina. As minister to the United States he knew all of the important intellectuals and leaders in the sixties and brought back with him not only the educational and cultural ideas of his friends, Horace Mann and Emerson, but he also brought teachers and assistants to aid him as President of Argentina in putting these ideals into practice. He made relentless war upon the ills of Argentina, which he had diagnosed so ably in *Facundo*. He is the father and chief supporter of the Argentine school system, and he shares with Urquiza the honor of having made constitutional government a success in Argen-

tina. These unceasing labors left him no time to write sociological treatises, although his sociological ideas came forth constantly in fragmentary form in presidential messages, in speeches, and in the press. He was the most voluminous writer as well as the most active in public affairs of all the Argentinans, having left fifty-two large volumes to his credit. In 1883, having retired from active politics, he published the first volume of *Conflict and Harmony of Races in America* and dedicated it to Mrs. Horace Mann. His theme was still cast in the mold of Echeverria and Alberdi and is the explanation of defects in Argentine civilization with a view to indicating a way to overcome these defects. But his method is now different from that of *Facundo*. Under the influence of Spencer, and the ethnologists, he introduces the racial explanation. But his concept of race is very imperfectly biological. It is rather that of the psycho-social environment, which in common with other writers of his time, he did not know how to distinguish from the biological fact of race. Indeed, this is a lesson which has never to this day been learned by Argentine sociologists. The second volume remained incompletely organized at his death in 1888.

Alberdi's studies through the forties bore fruit in 1852 in *Bases y Puntos de Partida para la Organizacion Politica de la Republica Argentina*, a politico-sociological work, showing traces of the influence of Rossi, setting forth the principles which should be followed in constructing the new Argentine constitution. In the main his plan was followed and to Alberdi belongs the honor of fathering the Argentine constitution of today, which is in many ways similar to that of the United States. During the next twenty years Alberdi was occupied almost wholly with

constitutional problems and various foreign relations and wrote little sociology. Most of this period he spent in France, Germany, and England. There he became thoroughly acquainted with the Spencerian sociology, the Marxian movement, and the work of the French and German and Italian social anthropologists and economists. Round about 1874 he wrote a series of essays on the history, causes, and remedies of and for the economic crisis then prevalent in Argentina. These studies were not published until after his death, but they show a profound grasp of the sociological and economic problems of Argentina. Although not a socialist, he applied largely the method of the economic interpretation to Argentine social problems. While in Europe he wrote also two other sociological works of primary importance. One of these, of which the English title is *Light of Day*, is the imaginary story of a traveller who visits South America and criticizes caustically local customs, especially political practices. The other work, *The Crime of War*, was left unfinished at his death in 1884, but even so it constitutes one of the most powerful arraignments of war in existence. So frank was Alberdi in criticising the weaknesses of his country and so relentless in seeking to reform them that it is only within the last twenty years that his greatness has begun to be adequately appreciated in his country, following his earlier recognition abroad.

Throughout this period every sociological work—I have mentioned only the most important ones—dealt with national problems and their solutions, but the best of these works were always written from the standpoint of a high level of theory. Alberdi, especially, knew European sociological and juristic thought much better than any one in North America before the late eighties,



and possibly before 1900. In 1878, a young medical student, J. M. Ramos Mejia (1849-1914), under the influence of the English and French psychopathologists of the time, produced his *Neurosis de los Hombres Celebres en la Historia Argentina*. Like all the other sociological or pre-sociological works of the time it attempts to explain Argentine history and institutions, is local in character, and uses the historical rather than the statistical and contemporary observation method. But it differs from the previous work of Echeverria, Alberdi, and Sarmiento in offering a psychiatric rather than an economic explanation of Argentine history and institutions. In 1895 the same author published *La Locura en la Historia*, a contribution to the psychopathological study of religious fanaticism and persecutions, with their psycho-social consequences and implications; and this was followed in turn by *Los Simuladores del Talento* (1904) and *Rosas y su Tiempo* (1907), using the same psychiatric criterion and discussing the same national theme. Ramos Mejia also wrote, in 1893, *Las Multitudes Argentinas*, in which he follows the method of Le Bon. This is the first important attempt at social psychology in Argentina, but like all of the works of Ramos Mejia, is perhaps more brilliant than sound. In 1903, Carlos Octavio Bunge (1875-1918) published *Nuestra America*, an essay in social psychology, which attempts to explain Latin American social defects in terms of race, somewhat in the manner of Sarmiento. But Bunge's concept of race is exceedingly inaccurate and his social psychology is decidedly superficial. His facts are better than the theory with which he explains them. Laziness is the great Latin American ill, and he concurs with Sarmiento and Alberdi in holding that the only remedy is in the introduction of

European habits of labor. So convinced were Sarmiento and Alberdi of the necessity of this policy that they did everything in their power during their time to stimulate European, especially north European, immigration. To Alberdi Teutonic immigration appeared to be as important for the future of the country as the introduction of North American institutions seemed important to Sarmiento. The theories of these men as to the causes of the traditional avoidance of labor by Latin Americans are extremely interesting, but there is no space for them here. Another study in national psychology—*La Anarquia Argentina y El Caudillismo*, by Lucas Ayarragaray, first published in 1904—is sounder, perhaps because it attempts less to explain and more to describe. It is one of the ablest works on political psychology which Argentina has produced.

The ablest social psychologist of Argentina, in spite of his lack of systematic theoretical presentation, was Agustin Alvarez (1857-1914). Like Sarmiento, he was tremendously influenced by North American character and institutions, and his seven volumes<sup>2</sup> constitute one vast analysis of Latin American characteristics and of the environmental factors which have produced them. Like Alberdi and Sarmiento he traces the debilitating psycho-social environment back to Spanish colonial policy and this in turn to the dominance of the Church. He was much influenced by such men as Emerson, Carlyle, Macaulay, Spencer, Ruskin, Lubbock, Horace Mann, and Symons. If they are a little old fashioned

<sup>2</sup> *South America: Ensayo de Psicologia Politica* (1894), *Manual de Patologia Politica* (1899), *Ensayo sobre Educacion* (1901), *Adonde Vamos?* (1904), *La Transformacion de las Razas en America* (1908), *Historia de las Instituciones Libres* (1909), *La Creacion del Mundo Moral* (1912).

today they were at least men of magnificent courage in an age of intellectual heroes, and Alvarez was of their mold. He remains today the best source for an understanding of the Latin American psycho-social environment. But one must not expect to find in him systematic treatises in social psychology. He wrote and thought like a wise and honest judge, for that was his profession. It is to be regretted that Anglo-Saxon character was not always as worthy of his praise as he believed. In this connection it may be remarked that the Argentine intellectuals are the most unsparing of critics of their national life and institutions. I doubt if any group has ever exceeded them in an honest desire to understand their country socially and politically. As Professor Ross has well said, the Argentine intellectuals, while fewer in number, stand quite as high in those fields where they have materials to work with as our own intellectuals. In fact, there is probably a more rigorous weeding out at the bottom, for there is less public and private money for the encouragement of intellectual work and fewer opportunities for publication. This last fact explains the relative infrequency of elaborate formal treatises. There are men in Argentina of surprising erudition who never find the opportunity of giving their ideas adequate external expression. There must, of course be an extensive reading public in the language to make such publication possible in all cases. This fact of the limitation of the reading public also helps to explain why systematic treatises so infrequently appear and why so much of the publication has an applicational rather than a pure theory aspect.

### III

About 1900 two new tendencies in sociology began which may be said to

have introduced the systematic and scientific stage. In 1899 Juan Agustin Garcia, Jr., published the first edition of his *Introduccion al Estudio de las Ciencias Sociales Argentinas*, and in the following year his *La Ciudad Indiana* saw the light. The *Introduction* consisted of his lectures in the University of Buenos Aires in the course on the Introduction to the Study of Law and contains chapters on social psychology (after Le Bon and Tarde), sociology (a la Argentina), political economy, and the fundamental principles of law, European and Argentine. This sort of introductory course had been given in the University for a good many years and the only remarkable thing about the book is that it was published instead of remaining in lecture notes, and also the fact that, following the Argentine tradition already described, the author affirms that sociology, like all of the social sciences, should be national in character, and its method should be descriptive, historical, and observational. *La Ciudad Indiana*, which is a description of the social institutions of Buenos Aires during the colonial period, introduces the method of monographic study of historical documents into Argentine sociology. In method he was influenced primarily by Le Play and Fustel de Coulanges, perhaps also by Durkheim. His viewpoint is largely the economic interpretationist, following, although not very closely, the lead of Alberdi and Sarmiento. His distinction rests on the fact that he made careful use of the historical documents, a method employed increasingly by a large number of young men in the subsequent fifteen years, who have produced monographs of great value in the economic, political, and social aspects of Argentine history. But it is to be observed that Garcia was, like all the rest, primarily a historical sociologist.

In 1898 Ernesto Quesada (1858-

not at that time in an academic position, had published his *La Epoca de Rosas*, using much the same method of study as Garcia employed in *La Ciudad Indiana*, but applying it to a politico-psychological theme. Consequently Quesada must be said to divide in sociology the honor of establishing the monographic interpretation of periods with Garcia. Quesada gave an environmental interpretation of Rosas and his times, from a study of the documents, in contrast with the psychiatric interpretation of Ramos Mejia.

To Ernesto Quesada also belongs the distinction of having occupied the first permanent chair in sociology (Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, University of Buenos Aires, 1904) established in Argentina. Sociology had been taught in a fragmentary way in the University of Buenos Aires for a great many years, as a part of the courses in the history and philosophy of law, which were in reality courses in the history of institutions, especially the juridical, somewhat after the model of Spencer's institutional sociology, with additional lectures on scientific method and the relations of the social sciences. The College of Law is known as the Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales. In 1899 Antonio Dellepiane erected sociology for one year into an independent subject, taking it as a rib out of the body of the course on the history and philosophy of law. Although quite capable from the standpoint of his abilities and studies of doing so, Dr. Dellepiane did not continue the subject separately, and Dr. Quesada became the first titular professor of sociology in Argentina in 1904.

In spite of Garcia's *Introduction* of 1899, not until now began the actual era of publication in systematic sociology. Quesada brought to his professorship a vast erudition and a vigorous mind and

personality. Upon taking possession of his chair he pronounced a discourse, later published, on *La Sociologia: Caracter Cientifico de su Ensenanza*, which Ward and Xenopol have justly characterized as of a high order of merit. I have seen nothing better. His refutation of the argument of the former dean, Miguel Cané (the younger), that sociology has no place among the sciences, is a masterpiece of dignified exposition, with a hint of the caustic, the echo of which still appears in Argentine sociological literature after more than twenty years. Between 1905 and 1910 Quesada reviewed the history and methods of sociology in a series of monographs on Comte, Spencer, Buckle, Mill, Ferri and others. These studies, corresponding to the content of his courses, mark his systematic period. From 1910 to about 1920 he spent in the sociological analysis of periods of Argentine history, such as the colonial period, the epoch of Rosas, the Jesuit Indian societies in Misiones, the constitutional movement, etc. Five volumes of these studies are now being published. In 1921, Quesada entered into the third and last phase of his sociological studies, before his retirement in 1924.<sup>3</sup> In 1921 he gave a course on the Sociology of Spengler, later publishing his lectures in a large volume of more than six hundred pages. He was the first, and perhaps the only person, to devote an entire university course to Spengler. Since that time he has written much on the significance of Spengler for sociology and law and has been in large degree responsible for the strong Spenglerian movement in Argentina. Dr. Quesada is perhaps the most voluminous Argentine writer after Sarmiento.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Quesada was succeeded in the chair of sociology in the University of Buenos Aires by Dr. Ricardo Levene, whose work has been almost exclusively in history.



In the years between 1905 and 1915 a number of works on systematic sociology appeared in addition to those by Quesada. In 1905, Alfredo Colmo, suplente professor in the University of Buenos Aires, published his *Principios Sociologicos*, a work of 379 pages. In 1911 Enrique Martinez Paz, then professor of sociology in the University of Cordoba, published his *Elementos de Sociologia*. Two volumes of collections of sociological essays, covering essentially the same ground as the sociological treatises, were published by Leopoldo Maupas,<sup>4</sup> suplente professor of sociology in the University of Buenos Aires, in 1910 and by Raul A. Orgaz,<sup>5</sup> professor of sociology in the University of Cordoba, in 1915. Jose Ingenieros, between 1910 and 1918, published in five editions his *Sociologia Argentina* and in 1924, Professor Jose Oliva, of the University of the Litoral (Faculty of Law, Santa Fe) published the first volume of his *Sociologia General*. Antonio Dellepiane has also published a summary of a course of lectures on *Le Progrès et Sa Formule: La Lutte pour le Progrès* which he delivered in the Sorbonne in 1912 and has set forth his sociological theories in two publications, *Estudios de Filosofia Juridica y Social* (1907) and *Sintesis de Filosofia del Derecho* (1918). Although Garcia gave for a number of years a course in sociology in the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires, he never published his lectures, and all that is left as evidence of this aspect of his work is a hundred pages of notes and outlines taken by students and published by them. His material on method is among the ablest in the Argentine sociologies. He also emphasized largely the theory of pragmatism in its sociological implications.

<sup>4</sup> *Caracteres y Critica de la Sociologia*.

<sup>5</sup> *Estudios de Sociologia*.

Like all of the writers before 1900 and most of those after that date, he followed the tradition of Echeverria, Alberdi, and Sarmiento and devoted most of his course to the evolution of Argentine institutions and to methods of interpreting them. He examined in detail the doctrines of Gobineau and rejected them. He accepted an environmental, largely an economic, explanation of Argentine development.

Colmo, Maupas, Martinez Paz, Orgaz, and Oliva all present historical introductions and all discuss the nature and relations of social sciences in their books. Colmo (1905) devotes much space to the refutation of the organismic concept. Maupas (1910) is primarily interested in the definition of social object or facts, and the method of studying them. Martinez Paz (1911) considers in detail the phases of sociology and the methods employed in each. Orgaz (1915) is much interested in classification and methods of investigation. Oliva (1924) passes over the formalistic aspects of the subject rather lightly and plunges into a social anthropological discussion of the origins and types of societies and the factors in social evolution. His second volume has not yet appeared.

Chairs in sociology were also founded in the Universities of La Plata<sup>6</sup> and Cordoba<sup>7</sup> in 1907, and at the University of the Litoral (Faculty of Jurisprudence and Social Sciences, Santa Fe) in 1910.<sup>8</sup> In Argentina, where the European system of instruction prevails, a "chair" usually means in practice a single course. There is nothing approaching the degree of

<sup>6</sup> This chair was occupied by Dr. Ernesto Quesada.

<sup>7</sup> Professors of sociology in the University of Cordoba: Isidoro Ruiz Moreno (1907-8), Enrique Martinez Paz (1908-1918), Raul A. Orgaz (1918- )

<sup>8</sup> Professors of sociology: Gustavo Martinez Zuviria (1910-14), Luciano Molina (1914-21), Jose Oliv. (1921- ).

specialization in sociology which we find in North American universities, although an analogous specialization has been achieved in economics within the last fifteen years, and law—the traditional social science subject—has long been specialized in Argentina. The study of law here involves the study of many aspects of the social sciences quite foreign to North American law schools. Furthermore, for half a century, in fact since the work of Alberdi and Sarmiento, who introduced the best currents of European social thinking, the sociological viewpoint has permeated all the other social sciences and law. This viewpoint is for obvious reasons perhaps less marked in economics. The social sciences in Argentina are "sociologicalized" to a degree which would appear inconceivable in the United States at the present time. The theories set forth in the writings of Roscoe Pound fifteen and twenty years ago regarding the desirable sociological outlook of law and legislation are matters of fact in Argentina, at least in its teaching, and most of the leading lawyers of this country are close students of the social sciences as well as of law and are frequent contributors to the social science journals.

I have spoken of the historical and nationalistic trend of sociology in this country. It is impossible at this date to determine whether the trend toward systematic sociology between 1905 and 1915 was only an interlude or was an indication of what will eventually prove to be the rule. But since 1915 there have been two more or less contrary movements, perhaps both stimulated somewhat by the war. Ingenieros, professor of psychology in the University of Buenos Aires and one of the most remarkable intellectual and spiritual phenomena in the history of Argentina, kept the nationalistic and historical viewpoint alive in sociology throughout the

period of systematic treatment. Ingenieros, who died last year at the age of forty-eight, was in his early years a disciple of J. M. Ramos Mejia and of the historical interpretation school of Enrico Ferri. From these two sources, and various others—for he was a tireless student of the whole of European thought,—he made a fusion of the economic interpretation and the biological-racial viewpoint and applied it in all of his studies of Argentine institutions. He has been accused of making no place for the non-economic and non-biological factors, but even a casual reading of his works will show that this is not the case. Like Alberdi, Sarmiento, and Garcia, who lived in the midst of Argentine transformations, he grasped the underlying significance of economic factors in casting the general lines of the national development, and it is the general lines which he was attempting to portray. If one does not grasp this fact, the significance of Ingenieros' sociology will be lost on him.

As I have shown, Quesada also returned to the social interpretation of Argentine history between 1910 and 1920. But the most interesting present tendency in this direction is that of Orgaz. Orgaz' first book was in systematic sociology (1915), but in 1924 the first of three volumes on *La Sinergia Social Argentina* appeared from his pen. Doubtless influenced by the reaction toward the historical method, but unable to accept in full the positivistic and economic emphasis of Ingenieros, he has undertaken to reconstruct in combination all of the psycho-social factors producing Argentine society in its various epochs. In my view his work is not so much contradictory as supplementary to that of Ingenieros. Ingenieros was so preoccupied with the economic interpretation and was so inadequately prepared in social psychology that he never properly appre-

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ciated the content of the psycho-social environment. He does not deny its existence: he even affirms it, for he has viewed it like Moses from a distance. His last great work, *La Evolucion de las Ideas Argentinas* (1918, 1920), one of the monuments of Argentine intellectual achievement, did much to give him this completer view. But it was really a task for another man, and the execution of the first volume by Orgaz gives promise of a valuable contribution to a new phase of Argentine sociology. In this work Orgaz is making a combination of the historical interpretation method and of systematic sociology, not hitherto attempted in Argentina. Although approving in general the scholarly work of Orgaz, Quesada criticizes this book for its too great psychological emphasis and its use of unverified hypotheses, somewhat after the manner of the philosophers of history. Orgaz in turn is sarcastic with the "document chasing" proclivities of the historical monographers who would substitute a verified datum for a sociological explanation. This is a theme and a controversy which would have warmed the heart of the late Professor Small.

The central concept in this work of Orgaz—synergy—is taken from Ward's *Pure Sociology*, which has been a strong factor in molding his sociological outlook. He states that the men who have most influenced his outlook were Tarde, Ellwood, and Simmel, but he has also been strongly influenced by Echeverria, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Ingenieros, Ward and Durkheim. Oliva has evidently been most influenced by Ellwood, among North American sociologists, through the French translation. Martinez Paz at first followed largely the lead of Giddings, but later drew even more strongly on Ross and Ellwood. The professors of sociology at the University of Cordoba since 1908

have read English and have been much influenced by North American sociologists. Quesada also reads English, as well as the leading European languages, but has never been much influenced by North American sociologists, although he is familiar with them. His earlier influences are indicated in the titles of his works between 1905 and 1910. Always his method of instruction has been that of the German seminar, changing the subject matter from year to year. Recently he has been dominated by the social philosophy of Spengler. I have not heard him mention the writers of the recent brilliant school of scientific German sociologists.

Doubtless the thing which will strike my hearers most forcibly about Argentine sociology is its dominantly national subject matter and the predominance of the historical method to the exclusion of the use of the statistical method of studying contemporary phenomena, although less critical observation of contemporary facts have appeared, especially in the work of Alvarez. I shall attempt to explain these facts. In the first place, statistical method has been but little used in Argentina, outside of public health work and more recently in the field of economic research and government administration. There is no adequate collection of statistical data in Argentina for extensive sociological generalization. I believe the absence of statistical generalization is due also in part to the dominant influence of the philosophy of history orientation which came to Argentina through France, whose thinking dominated in this country until very recently. The philosophy of history method was fixed upon Argentine social studies largely through Echeverria, Alberdi, and Sarmiento, and has remained as a tradition incidental to the great prestige of the last two, especially of



Sarmiento, in sociological or pre-sociological thinking in Argentina. The dominance of this remarkable man in Argentine social interpretation is just now being broken. In the eighteen-thirties Alberdi introduced the historical method of Savigny into Argentine social theory, having come in contact with it through the French writings of Lermnier. Alberdi's prestige with the scholars has always been great. Furthermore, the cultural division between the intellectual classes and the masses in South America has been so great that stable institutions have been impossible. This has caused the great moral and spiritual leaders to feel strongly apologetic for the backwardness of certain phases of their civilization. They have sought the explanation where they had data—in their history, which has been very rich in concrete materials. Another important explanation is that the Argentinians do not like ordinarily to investigate contemporary facts and conditions. They do not, for example, bring their general histories down to the present. In Latin countries there is a tradition that the personal life of a man is his own affair. That is, if an Englishman's house is his castle, the soul of a Latin is a fortress; and this is particularly true of the living, and not many will speak ill of the dead. Political patronage is even more rampant in Argentina than in North America. Also, there is the power of the mystical institutions in the background, whose ways are sometimes mysterious. I have already mentioned the economic and language limitations upon the publication of theoretical works, which tend to emphasize by comparison the recreational and the applied. Finally, the method of the social survey, going from house to house with a schedule, would probably not be effective in Argentina. There is a tradi-

tional repugnance to whatever smacks of the inquisitorial which would probably render data collected in this way relatively untrustworthy. Whatever the causes, it is certain that the historical method of study has been dominant in Argentine sociology—so largely so, in fact, that this sociology not infrequently closely resembled philosophy of history in the earlier period of its development.

Finally, a word about the recent reaction against the scientific method in social science, which has also been felt in sociology. This reaction has come since the war and has been characterized by a movement, especially on the part of the young people, towards the philosophy of Splenger and the intuitionism of Bergson. In more sober university circles it has taken on the character of neo-Kantian and neo-Hegelian interpretations. For example, I am told that the teaching of the philosophy of law in the University of Buenos Aires is wholly dominated by the neo-Kantian influence, while the outlook of Comte and Spencer, formerly so strong, is now passé. Much of the same is apparently true in the other universities. The feeling is decidedly against what has, since the middle of the past century, been called positivism in this country. In North America the scientific method carries with it no implications of Comtean mysticism or of the Marxian economic determinism. Our connections with France, and especially with the Italian positivist school, have been much less marked. In Argentina the scientific method is the "positivist" method and it carries with it all the associations of the "schools" which introduced it, and which are now in process of partial repudiation. Consequently the scientific method—especially in law, sociology, and philosophy—is not in very good repute. In a letter Orgaz has explained this opposition as in part due,

in his opinion, to the identification of the scientific method with Comtean and Spencerian mechanistic and materialistic philosophy, and in part to the belief in free will, recently stimulated by the growth of the new philosophies, which tend to find themselves in conflict with a belief in the scientific ordering of human affairs. I believe that in addition to these factors, the war produced a feeling of disillusionment regarding the efficacy of science to prevent war—the discovery that pure science is neutral and may be used for or against humanity—and the recognition that human thought and will must be moralized. Because of the closer contact of Argentina with Europe, where the disillusionment is greatest, the reaction against science is stronger here among the intellectuals than it is in the United States. In the latter country it is confined almost entirely to the Fundamentalists and the mystics. The Kantian philosophy, with its division between pure (impersonal) and practical (moral or personal) reason offers some sort of adjustment, although perhaps an archaic one, to this difficulty. The neo-Kantian movement here has had a strong supporter in the Professor of Philosophy in the University

of La Plata, Alejandro Korn, of German descent, an able teacher and publicist. The movement toward the intuitionism of Bergson is probably but little more than the illusion of a cheap method of purchasing social salvation little short of mysticism.

To these considerations must be added the fact that there has been a revival of the mystical and theological attitude, under cover of religion, going on slowly in Argentina for some decades, helped along by the great masses of immigrants who have come into the country in recent years and by the revival of the Spanish influence in Ibero-American culture since 1900. The old generations of national heroes, who hated the Spanish political philosophy and mistrusted the Church because it supported the Spanish system and later the tyrant Rosas, lie sleeping in their mausoleums in that remarkable cemetery almost beneath the windows of the building where I work, and their spirit also is passing. The forces of darkness know how to wait. But there are still numerous social thinkers in Argentina who understand that it is not less science, but a moralized and humanized science, that their civilization needs.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES

Professor Bernard's discussion of the development and tendencies of sociology in Argentina suggests a similar inquiry with reference to the subject in institutions in the United States. At an early date the *Search After Values* will give a summary of criticisms of the teaching of sociology in certain institutions. In spite, however,

of certain limitations there is a strong tendency to strengthen this subject in a great many institutions, such as Chicago, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana, Virginia, Vanderbilt, North Carolina, Texas, Tulane, Pennsylvania, and scores of smaller institutions.

—EDITORS

# A SURVEY OF THE CYCLICAL CONCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL PROCESS

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

THE social thought of the second half of the nineteenth century has been marked by a *linear* conception of social and historical change. The majority of the sociologists, the economists, and the philosophers of history have been busy principally in formulating "the laws of historical evolution," and in discovering "the historical tendencies and trends." Since August Comte's "law of the three stages," which presents a conspicuous example of the linear conception, dozens of similar "laws" and "tendencies" have been offered by many sociologists, historians, economists and social philosophers. In their theories the social process has been depicted as something drifting towards a definite goal; the process of history has been outlined as a kind of college course: all peoples start with the same historical class of freshmen (e.g., Comte's "theological stage"); later on, all pass into the stage of the sophomores (Comte's "metaphysical stage"); having passed through the class of the juniors, all societies have to be graduated with "the stage of positivism" or "socialism" or "anarchy" or "democracy" or "degeneration" or what not. In this way the linear conception has assumed the character of an eschatological interpretation of a social and historical process.

It is not my purpose to characterize or to criticize here all the varieties of this linear conception. I have mentioned it only because its domination since the second half of the 19th century has led the sociologists to neglect another; the *cyclical* conception of social change and historical process. Having been busy with a discovery of "the historical tendencies," they naturally could not pay

much attention to the cycles, rhythms and repetitions in social change. If I am not mistaken, at the present moment we are at a turning point of social thought in this field. Changes in social life for the last few decades; a failure of the eschatological conception of history and that of the attempts to discover "the historical trends;" a better knowledge of many social phenomena; discoveries of many brilliant civilizations of the past; these and many other factors are responsible for the fact that social thought seems to begin again to pay somewhat greater attention to the repetitions, rhythms and cycles in social and historical processes. The great success of Bergson's conception of a goalless creative evolution in modern philosophy; substitution of the term "social change" for that of "social evolution" in sociology; an increasingly close study of business cycles, fluctuations, oscillations in economics and the other social sciences; the extraordinary success of O. Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* with its cyclical conception of history; these phenomena are only a few symptoms among many which indicate the turn of contemporary social thought.

Under such conditions it may be timely to outline briefly the principal cyclical conceptions of the historical process; and the purpose of this paper is to give a concise historical survey of these theories which run throughout the whole history of social thought.

## 1. PRINCIPAL CYCLICAL CONCEPTIONS OF HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE PAST

Cyclical conception of social change is one of the oldest in the history of social



thought. Its definite formula was already given in *Ecclesiastes*. We read here: "One generation goeth, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth for ever. The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to its place where it ariseth. That which hath been is that which shall be; and that which hath been done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there a thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new! It hath been long ago, in the ages which were before us."<sup>1</sup> Another old expression of belief in a cyclical character of social change is *ancient astrology*. A periodicity of the appearance of certain stars, and a belief in their influence on human affairs led to the belief that many social phenomena repeat themselves periodically in the course of time. All men born under the Lion or Scorpio are destined to have a definite fate and all the corresponding periods of history are supposed to be marked with the same characteristics.<sup>2</sup> In this way the astrological and the cabalistic beliefs called forth the theories of cyclical and periodical repetitions in the process of history. As an example of such theories may be taken the astrological seven-year cycles in the life of everybody: one's first seven years are under the influence of the moon, and the subsequent seven year periods fall respectively under the influence of Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.<sup>3</sup> A vague manifestation of a cyclical conception may be found also in the *ancient thought of India*. The dominant philosophy of ancient India seems to have been the philosophy of *an unchangeable Being* but not that of a *changeable Becoming*. The really existing "is neither this nor that, as neither effect nor cause, as neither past nor future, it is without sound, with-

out touch, without form, without decay, without taste, eternal, without smell, without beginning, without end, beyond the Great, and unchangeable: it sprang from nothing, nothing sprang from it. The ancient is unborn, eternal, everlasting."<sup>4</sup> Such is the essence of this philosophy of Being. All changes are something superficial which really do not exist. Through Taoism in China, through Parmenides and Zeno's philosophy in Greece, through Spinoza's *deus sive natura*, through the present conceptions of the atoms or their indivisible and unchangeable particles, this philosophy of Being runs throughout the whole history of human thought.<sup>5</sup> In regard to the empirical phenomena, none the less, the ancient Hindu thought gives three different conceptions of change. In the first place, there is a theory of social regress similar to the biblical theory of the fall, and that of a regressive transformation of a sinful human being. Here are samples of this conception. "In former ages men were strictly virtuous and devoid of mischievous propensities. There existed neither lawsuits, nor hatred, nor selfishness. The practice of duty having died among mankind, lawsuits have been introduced," and so on.<sup>6</sup> "In successive births men of the higher castes are born in the next lower one, if they neglect their duties."<sup>7</sup> Through the biblical theory of

<sup>4</sup> *The Upanishads*, The Sacred Books of the East, v. XV, Oxford, 1884, I, 2, 4-20; II, 4, 6. *The Vedānta Sūtras*, The Sacred Books of the East, vv. 34, 38, passim. See also F. M. Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, N. Y., 1899, pp. 159 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Concerning the philosophy of Being and Becoming vid G. Simmel, *Hauptprobleme der Philosophie*, ch. I and passim.

<sup>6</sup> *Nārada*, I, 1-2; *Bṛhaspati*, I, 1, The S. Books of the East, v. XXXIII; *Apastamba*, II, 7. 16, 1; The S. B. East, v. VII; *The Institutes of Vishnu*, I, 47-57; S. B. East, v. VII.

<sup>7</sup> *Apastamba*, II, 5. 10, 10-11; *Gautama*, ch. IV, 21-22; *The Inst. of Vishnu*, I.

<sup>1</sup> *Ecclesiastes*, I: 2-11.

<sup>2</sup> See Manilius, *Astronomiques*, II, IV.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV.

the fall, through Hesiod's theory of the five regressive stages, through Cicero, Seneca, and the church fathers' theory of the fall, through Rousseau's hypothesis of the idyllic and innocent primitive stage, up to the modern theories of social regress and degeneration, this conception constantly runs throughout the whole history of social thought.

In the second place, in the thought of the ancient Hindu we have a kind of theory of progress in the form of an approach of the virtuous men towards an absolute and everlasting Being. "Men of lower caste are born in the next higher one, if they fulfil their duties." "A man who is free from desires and from grief, sees the majesty of the Self, and reaches indeed that place, from whence he is not born again."<sup>8</sup> There is no need to say that this conception in modified forms also runs throughout the history of social thought.

In the third place, here we find the theory of an endless transformation of human beings, without any approach to a definite goal, and the theory of the great cycles in the history of the whole world (*pralaya*). "He who has no understanding, who is unmindful and always impure, never reaches that place (of everlasting Being), but enters into the round of birth."<sup>9</sup> According to the Vedānta, after a period of time (kalpa or a great world period) the empirical materialized world dissolves and assumes purely spiritual forms of existence (Brāhman). Having existed a definite period of time in this pure form, the real Being (Brāhman) again assumes an empirical and a materialized form of existence. Such great cycles (*pralaya*) of a dissolution of the materialized world into Brāhman and a

materialization of Brāhman are repeated at the end of each kalpa.<sup>10</sup> In this way we find here a theory of eternal cycles in the history of the whole world—the theory which goes on throughout the history of social thought and is very similar to that of G. LeBon's rhythm of concentration of energy into material things and dissolution of the material things into a pure energy.<sup>11</sup> The above illustrates the three conceptions of change in the Hindu-thought. The Buddhist metaphysics and ideology, being taken from that of Brahmanism, are naturally similar to the ideology of the Vedānta.<sup>12</sup>

The whole history of the world, according to the conception of *ancient Persian thought*, is depicted as one large cycle, which is composed of many smaller fluctuations. The starting point of the large cycle is a good, virtuous, and happy world, created by Ahura Mazda, the good principle. Later on, "Angra Mainyu, the evil principle, invaded the world of Ahura Mazda, and marred it." Since that time all history is nothing but the struggle between these two powers. Any change, any conflict, any war in nature, as well as among human beings, is only a concrete manifestation of this struggle. Its final stage will be a complete defeat of Angra Mainyu, "hell will be destroyed, men will rise from the dead, and everlasting happiness will reign over the world." Such is the great cycle. Side by side with it, in the same source are indicated smaller

<sup>10</sup> *The Vedānta-Sūtras*, part I, pp. XXIX, LIX, XCIV, 382-89; part II, pp. 47, 371, 392, M. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>11</sup> Compare, G. Le Bon, *L'évolution de la matière*, and Bergson's theory of the material things as the moments of relaxation of the creative power.

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., *The Dhammapada*, passim, The Colonial Press, N. Y.; *Life of Buddha by Asvagosha Bodhisattva*, in the same edition; *The Questions of King Milinda*, The S. B. of the East, v. 35, II, 1. 6-7; 2, 4-9; III and passim.

<sup>8</sup> *Apastamba*, II, 5. 10-11; *The Upanishads*, II, 20; III, 7-10.

<sup>9</sup> *The Upanishads*, IV, 2-16.

cycles in the form of the three cases of overpopulation of the earth, and the three cases of an enlargement of the earth by Yima (here we have an early kernel of Malthus' theory); and in the form of the sixteen creations of the happy countries by Ahura Mazda, and the sixteen creations of plagues by Angra Mainyu.<sup>13</sup>

The philosophy of *Taoism in China* was in essence the philosophy of an unchangeable Being similar to that of the Vedānda.<sup>14</sup> Therefore very little will be said about the change generally, except the theory of the transmigration of souls, similar again to that of the theory of the Vedānta and Buddhism. But in *Confucianism* we find a definite and clearly expressed cyclical conception of the historical process. It is formulated in Confucius' law of the three stages, which cyclically repeat themselves in the course of time. These stages are: the Disorderly Stage characterized by primitive anarchy, permanent warfare, and by a lack of efficient social control among the primitive groups; the Stage of Small Tranquility characterized by the institution of family and private property, by social instability and egotism somewhat restrained by social control; the Stage of the Great Similarity marked by a stable social order, by almost common property, and by mutual reverence and benevolence in the interrelations of the members of a society. The stages, according to Confucius, are repeated in the course of time.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *The Zend-Avesta*, passim, and Vendidad i, Fargard 1-2; The Sacr. B. of the East, v. IV.

<sup>14</sup> Vid., *The Texts of Taoism*, The Sacred Books of the East, v. XL, pp. 3-4, 9-10 and passim.

<sup>15</sup> Li-Ki, book VII. The Sacr. Book of the East, v. 27, pp. 364 sq. Dr. Chen Huan Chang in his *The Economic Principles of Confucius and His School*, N. Y. 1911, pp. 16-19, translates and interprets these stages in the sense that the stage of the Great Similarity has to come only in the future. Such interpretation transforms Confucius' theory into a linear conception.

Side by side with these non-periodical large cycles, we find in Confucianism the theory of periodicity in the repetition of the small social cycles. There are social processes which repeat themselves within every three, nine, eighteen, twenty-seven and thirty years, according to the nature of the process.<sup>16</sup>

The most prominent representative of the cyclical conception of history in ancient Greece was Plato. According to him, the history of any culture of that of any people passes successively through the stages of appearance, development, and refinement, reaches its climax, and, owing to inundations or plagues or other causes, declines and disintegrates. He did not make an exception to this rule even for his own ideal republic. "Seeing that everything which has a beginning has also its end, even the perfect constitution will in time perish and come to dissolution," says Plato in regard to it.<sup>17</sup> While the transcendental world of ideas is unchangeable and immovable,<sup>18</sup> in the empirical imperfect world everything is changing. In addition, Plato indicated also small cycles in the change of the forms of government, but in this respect his opinion, as to their cyclical repetition, is somewhat indefinite.<sup>19</sup> One thing, however, is certain: a linear conception of historical change, steadily drifting throughout the whole course of time towards a definite goal, is strange to Plato. The same may

Meanwhile, in the Li-Ki it is clearly indicated that the Stage of the Great Similarity already was in the past, and the context, as it is translated by James Legge, does not leave any doubt as to the cyclical conception of the law of the three stages given by Confucius.

<sup>16</sup> Vid. Chen Huan Chang, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-134.

<sup>17</sup> Plato, *The Republic*, tr. by B. Jowett, N. Y. 1874, p. 546; *Laws*, tr. by B. Jowett, Oxford, MDCCCXCII, pp. 56-7; 676-79; 772-4.

<sup>18</sup> *The Republic*, pp. 203-4; 405 sq.; 514-15.

<sup>19</sup> *The Republic*, pp. 545-47.



be said of Aristotle. He does not give explicitly any positive theory of social cycles. But at the same time, in his works we do not find any definite trace of a linear conception of social and historical change. Implicitly, in many places of his works, especially in the analysis of the causes and forms of revolutions, he points out that the principal causes of revolutions are always the same and that in this respect history repeats itself.<sup>20</sup> This however, is only an implicit theory of social cycles.

Among other Greek and Roman writers the idea of a cyclical conception of a cultural and political process has been rather common while the linear theory has been almost absent. Seneca's idea that "the chain of events obeys the law of an eternal rotation,"<sup>21</sup> or that of Ocellus of Lucania, that "the nations, like an individual, are born, multiply and die to be replaced by other peoples, as one individual is replaced by other individuals" is common also to Thucydides and Plutarch, to Xenophon and Herodotus.<sup>22</sup> Of these writers it is necessary to mention separately Polybius and Florus. Polybius tried to give a universal formula of a definite cyclical repetition of the forms of government. Monarchy degenerates into tyranny; tyranny gives way to aristocracy; aristocracy degenerates into oligarchy; oligarchy is superseded by democracy doomed to degenerate into mob-rule which, in its turn, gives way to monarchy; in this way the cycle begins to be repeated again. "Such is the cycle of political revolutions, the course appointed by nature in which constitutions change, disappear, and finally return to

the point from which they started," says Polybius.<sup>23</sup> From the text it is clear that Polybius considered this formula universal and permanent. The name of a Roman historian, Florus, is to be mentioned because he tried to establish not only that every nation, like an individual, passes in its life-cycle through the four stages: infancy, adolescence, maturity, and old age; but also that each of these stages has a definite span of time which for each stage of Rome, according to Florus, happened to be two hundred and fifty years.<sup>24</sup> His attempt was one of the early efforts to establish the existence not only of cycles but also of their periodicity.

The social thought of the Middle Ages, rich and colorful though it is in other respects, in the field of the interpretation of social and historical change does not give much. Its dominant characteristics in this field recall somewhat the Vedānta conceptions. The stable, motionless and unchangeable real Being (substance); the different changes in an unstable, half-illusory, empirical world (in accidents); the theory of the fall; and the theory of a transcendental eschatology connected with the City of God, or the second coming of Christ or the final supernatural end of history; these are its conspicuous traits, so far, at least, as the works of St. Augustine, the majority of the church fathers and St. Thomas Aquinas are concerned.<sup>25</sup> A vague idea of the periodicity of historical events in the thought of the

<sup>20</sup> Polybius, *The Histories*, tr. by W. Paton, Putnam's Sons, v. III, book VI, 2-10.

<sup>21</sup> Florus, *Epitome*, preface.

<sup>22</sup> Vid., St. Augustine, *The City of God*, books 11-22; St. Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologica*, Washburne, 1915, QQ: XC-CXIV, Q. 91, 1 et seq.; M. De Wulf, *Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages*, 1922, ch. IX; R. W. & A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory*, vv. I-IV; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers*, 1923.

<sup>20</sup> Aristotle, *The Politics*, book V, passim.

<sup>21</sup> Sénèque le Philosophe, *Questions naturelles*, I, 35.

<sup>22</sup> See their general characteristics in this respect in P. Maugeolle's *Les problèmes de l'histoire*, Paris, 1886, pp. 58-70.

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Middle Ages found, perhaps, its most conspicuous expression only in the mediaeval astrology and in the belief about "the thousand years of the Kingdom of God"—the belief which was rather common among many sects of millenarians.

Later on, however, the cyclical conception was revived again in the works of many thinkers among whom Machiavelli, Campanella, and Vico are the most prominent. Campanella stressed the existence of cycles in the field of political, as well as religious change. Here is the quintessence of his theory: "Religions and sects (in their change) have a specific cycle. As republics, substituted for monarchies, either through the stage of tyranny, or aristocracy, or oligarchy, or polity, or democracy, or through other ways, are superseded by monarchies again, so a religion, disorganized by heresy, is superseded by atheism which, many miseries following, leads to the restoration of religion again."<sup>26</sup> "There is thus a cyclical movement in the history of religions. Beginning with unity—that is, with a papacy or theocracy—it passes through divers stages or forms of heresy to atheism, whence it is driven back to unity. These three stages—theocracy, heresy, and atheism—recur in the history of pagan, Mohammedan, and Christian nations. The political movement is also cycle. Its stages are monarchy, the various forms of government in which sovereignty is divided and enfeebled, and democracy, which results in monarchy again. The two cycles—the religious and political—are interdependent and concentric."<sup>27</sup> The repeated cycles, however, are not identical, but rather spiral, and lead towards the final kingdom of the Messiah. In this way Campanella, as many others,

succeeds in reconciling a cyclical with a linear conception of social change.

Machiavelli indicated two principal kinds of historical cycles. The first concerns the cyclical subsequence of the forms of government, and represents nothing but a repetition of Polybius' theory.<sup>28</sup> The second is more original and runs as follows: "Governments, in the variations which most commonly happen to them, do proceed from Order to Confusion, and that Confusion afterwards turns to Order again. For Nature having fixed no sub-lunary things, as soon as they arrive at their acme and perfection, being capable of no farther ascent, of necessity they decline. So on the other side, when they are reduced to the lowest pitch of disorder, having no farther to descend, they recoil again to their former perfection; good Laws degenerating into bad Customs, and bad Customs engendering good Laws. For Virtue begets Peace; Peace begets Idleness; Idleness, Mutiny; and Mutiny, Destruction; and then *vice versa*, that Ruin begets Laws; those Laws, Virtue, and Virtue begets Honor and Good Success. All governments therefore do, by these means, some time or other come to decay, and when once at the lowest, the Men's sufferings have made them wiser, they rebound again, and return to their first Order, unless they be suppressed and kept under by some extraordinary force."<sup>29</sup> The theory has been well summed up by the poet in the following verses:

There is the moral of all human tales,  
'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past:  
First freedom, and then glory—when that fails,  
Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism, at last,  
And history with all her volumes vast  
Hath but one page.

<sup>26</sup> Campanella, *Pb. Real*, P. T. iii, c. 1.

<sup>27</sup> R. Flint, *Vico*, Lond. MDCCCLXXXIV, pp. 183-87.

<sup>28</sup> Vid., N. Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, 1.

<sup>29</sup> N. Machiavelli, *History of Florence*, The Colon Press, book V. ch. I, pp. IX, 225.

Such is the ever-revolving cycle of history, according to Machiavelli. In difference from Campanella, he does not indicate either that the cycles are identical or that they are leading towards a definite goal. A great empirical and sceptical thinker, Machiavelli, remains a stranger to all linear and eschatological conceptions. In connection with his astrological and cabalistic beliefs, J. Bodin, by the way, also mentions the existence of a periodicity and rhythms in social change, but does not give any elaborate and definite theory.

Finally, in *Scienza Nuova* of J. B. Vico the cyclical conception of history and social change finds the most systematic, the most general and the most interesting expression. Vico seems to have been the first thinker who systematically tried to separate, in the complex histories of different peoples, what is permanent, fundamental, and common to all of them from what is temporary, specific, and local. In this way he, perhaps more than anybody else, laid the foundation for sociology as a generalizing or "nomographic" science different from history as a descriptive or "ideographic" science of unique and concrete development of a particular country. "We explain not a temporary and particular history of Greece or Rome," says Vico, "but the ideal, universal and eternal laws along which proceed all nations in the cycles of their appearance, development, decadence and end. Through the diversity of the external forms we grasp the identity of the substance of all particular histories. For this reason we cannot refuse to give to this work a title 'New Science.'"<sup>30</sup>

The second merit of Vico was that he tried to establish not only the existence of the three stages,—the period of the gods,

of the heroes, and of men, through which all peoples pass, and which, having been run, revolve again; but, in addition to this, he tried to show the existence of a complex correlation among the most different social phenomena in passing through these cycles. "In spite of infinite variety of the different concrete mores, history repeats itself eternally in running the circle of the three stages,—divine, heroic, and human, and it never goes out of this circle." Correspondingly, different social phenomena are closely correlated with each other in each stage. Human nature, mores, the conception of natural law, the forms of government, the character of language, the jurisprudence and law, the social authority, the human psychology and reasoning, the social organization—all have specific traits in each period, and these traits are repeated in all corresponding periods of the second, the third and all cycles.<sup>31</sup> The fourth book of *Scienza Nuova* represents an astounding monument of an extraordinary logical and deep thought. As to the identity of these repeated cycles, Vico admits their exterior difference, but at the same time he insists on their substantial and inner identity. He does not mention that this eternal repetition of the cycles tends towards a definite goal or final end. From this we must conclude that an eschatological conception of history has not been congenial to his thought.<sup>32</sup> It is scarcely an accurate, though a common, interpretation of Vico's theory to regard it as one of spiral progress.<sup>33</sup> It is neither a spiral theory of progress nor one of regress, simply because Vico does not indicate any continuous tendency along which the eternal cycles run. It is

<sup>30</sup> J. B. Vico, *Principes de la Philosophie de l'histoire* traduit de la *Scienza* par J. Michelet, Bruxelles, 1835, p. 392, and book IV, ch. I.

<sup>31</sup> Vico, *op. cit.*, book IV, passim, book V, I, 1.

<sup>32</sup> Compare B. Croce, *La filosofia di Giambattista Vico*, Bari, 1922, pp. 137-8.

<sup>33</sup> Compare R. Flint *Vico*, pp. 188 ff, 227 ff.



rather a systematic theory of goalless cycles of history.<sup>34</sup>

In the eighteenth century we do not find anything especially conspicuous in regard to the theory of cyclical interpretation of social and historical change. It is certain that in the works of Berkley, Montesquieu, Malthus, Adam Smith, Ferguson, and the French representatives of "Social Physics"<sup>35</sup> there are frequent statements which indicate many permanent and repeated processes in social life, but they do not compose the heart of these theories and are, so to speak, absorbed in the linear constructions of the same authors. Besides, they have been more clearly expressed in the theories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This justifies omitting their characterization and passing directly to a survey of the cyclical theories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We may now leave the chronological thread of the survey and may give a brief characterization of contemporary theories regardless of chronology.

## II. CONTEMPORARY CYCLICAL THEORIES OF SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CHANGE

For the sake of brevity I will not separately characterize the very numerous attempts, made in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to prove the existence of cycles in various fields of social change, but will simply give a concise enumeration to the character of a cycle, a short description of it, and the authors who have indicated it. Proceeding in this way, I will include all cycles and rhythms, regardless of whether they have a linear trend or not, according to their authors.

<sup>34</sup> This does not contradict his statement that his theory is "a civil theology of the divine Providence." Vico, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-8, and book V.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Spektorsky, E., *Social Physics, of the seventeenth century*, vv. I, II, (russ); Delvaile, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'idée de progrès*.

In giving the contemporary theories I naturally do not take any responsibility for their scientific validity. The purpose of the paper is a survey, not a criticism, of the corresponding theories.

Since the cycles and rhythms may be *periodical*, that is, repeated regularly in a definite span of time, and *non-periodical*, taking place in an indefinite and varying span of time, it is convenient to divide all corresponding theories into these two groups and to give them separately. We will begin with the periodical cycles.

### *Periodical cycles and rhythms*

*Twenty-four-hour cycles and rhythms.* Deaths and suicides: in each 24 hours the maximum death and suicide-cases happen about 6 a.m. to 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. to 8 p.m.; the minimum, about 12 m. to 2 p.m. (Guerry, Durkheim, Millard and some others).<sup>36</sup>

*Seven-day cycles and rhythms.* Rhythm of six work-days and the seventh day of leisure.

*One-year cycles (seasonal fluctuations).* Births: For many European countries the maximum number of births happens in the months from January to April; the minimum, in November and December, and in June, July and August (Villermé, Quetelet, Oettingen, G. v. Mayr, Levasseur and many others).<sup>37</sup> Deaths: For many European countries the maximum falls in the months from January to April; the minimum, in the summer and the fall; in the countries with a warm climate there is also an increase of

<sup>36</sup> E. Durkheim, *Le Suicide*, 1912; Colonel Millard, *Essai de physique social et de construction historique*, Revue Intern. de Sociologie, 1917, February-March.

<sup>37</sup> Villermé, *De la distribution par mois des conceptions*, etc., Annales d'Hygiène, 1831; A. Quetelet, *Physique social*, v. I, 1869; Oettingen, *Moralstatistik* 1882; G. von Mayr, *Statistik und Gesellschaftslehre*, v. II, 1897; Levasseur, *La population Française*, v. II, 1891.

deaths in the hot summer months (The above indicated statisticians). *Suicides*: For European countries the maximum falls in May, June and July; the minimum, in November-February (A. Wagner, Morselli, Bodio, Masaryk, Krösc, and many others).<sup>38</sup> *Crimes*: For Europe the crimes against persons reach their maximum in summer; the minimum, in winter; the crimes against property attaining their maximum in winter; the minimum, in summer; in tropical countries the cycles are almost reversed (Guerry, Quetelet, Oettingen, E. Ferri, Levasseur, Lombroso, Kurella, E. G. Dexter, and many others).<sup>39</sup> The seasonal fluctuations have been observed by various authors in the movement of dependency, labor demands and unemployment, different illnesses, labor turnover, business; in the seasonal change of economic activity of the population, especially in agricultural countries; in the seasonal rhythm of teaching and vacation; in that of buying and selling seasonal objects; in the repetition from year to year of definite holidays (Christmas, Thanksgiving Day, etc.); and in many similar social phenomena.

*Three-and-a-half- and four-year cycles.* *Business cycles*: fluctuation of the periods of business increase and depression (J. Kitchin, Juglar, Lescure, and some others).<sup>40</sup> *Births*: in France, each fourth year, since 1815 to 1878, shows an abnormally low birth-rate. From 1875 up to 1905 the cycles continue to exist in somewhat modified form (Millard).<sup>41</sup> *Four-*

*year periods in the life of great men*: In the life of Alexander the Great, Caesar, Napoleon I, Bismark, Cromwell, and some others every fourth year was a turning point in their career. The same periodicity takes place in the course of revolutions and social upheavals (Millard).<sup>41</sup>

*Five-year cycles.* *The number of births of eminent men of letters in France*: Since 1475, forty-two times (out of seventy) each five years of abundant births of the men of letters have been superseded by a five-year period of comparative infrequency of such births. In regard to the most prominent men of letters such cycles took place 51 times out of 69 five-year periods (A. Odin).<sup>42</sup>

*Seven-, eight- and eleven-year cycles.* *Business cycles*: (Tugan-Baranovsky, Sombart, W. M. Persons, A. Aftalion, H. L. Moore, W. Mitchell, and others).<sup>43</sup> *Phenomena correlated with business cycles: unemployment, poor relief, divorces, marriages, births, deaths, crimes, religious revivals, etc.* (Tugan-Baranovsky, U. Yule, W. Ogburn, Thomas, Hexter, and others).<sup>44</sup>

*Fifteen- and sixteen-year cycles.* *Political*

<sup>41</sup> Millard, *op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> A. Odin, *Genèse des grand hommes*, 1895, v. I, pp. 424-26. H. Ellis and E. L. Clarke also indicate some fluctuations in the number of births of English men of genius and American men of letters; but they do not insist on a periodicity. See H. Ellis, *A Study of British Genius*, 1904, p. 11; E. L. Clarke, *American Men of Letters*, 1916, pp. 38-9.

<sup>43</sup> Tugan-Baranovsky, *Les crises industrielles en Angleterre*; A. Aftalion, *Les crises périodiques de surproduction*, 1913; H. L. Moore, *Economic Cycles*, 1913; *Generating Econ. Cycles*, 1923; W. Mitchell, *Business Cycles*; Robertson, *A Study of Ind. Fluctuation*.

<sup>44</sup> Tugan-Baranovsky, *op. cit.*; W. F. Ogburn, *The Influence of Business Cycle on Certain Social Conditions*, J. of Am. Stat. Assn., 1922; M. B. Hexter, *Social Consequences of Business Cycles*, 1925; D. S. Thomas, *Social Aspects of the Business Cycle*, 1925; W. A. Bonger, *Criminality and Economic Conditions*, 1916; J. van Kan, *Les causes économique de la criminalité*, 1903.

<sup>38</sup> A. Wagner, *Die Gesetzmässigkeit in den scheinbar willkürlichen Handlungen*, etc. Teil I, 1864; Morselli, *Der Selbstmord*, 1881; T. G. Masaryk, *Der Selbstmord*, 1887; Mayr, *op. cit.*, v. III, 1917; the quoted works of Durkheim, Oettingen, Levasseur, Quetelet.

<sup>39</sup> The above quoted statistical works; E. Dexter, *Weather Influences*, 1904; Ferri, *Das Verbrechen in seiner Abhängigkeit v. d. Temperaturwechsel*, 1882.

<sup>40</sup> J. Kitchin, *Cycles and Trends in Economic Factors*, Review of Econ. Statistics, January, 1923; J. Lescure, *Des crises générales et périodiques des surproductions*, 1907.

*life:* Within every sixteen years there is considerable change in political opinions and in government composition and activity (Justin Dromel).<sup>45</sup>

*Thirty and thirty-three year cycles. Births:* Thirty year cycles in the movement of births in France. *Epidemics:* The same in the movement of cholera. *Deaths:* The same in the movement of deaths in Finland, Sweden, Norway, France (Millard).<sup>41</sup> *Business and harvest cycles:* (Beveridge, Moore).<sup>46</sup> *Dominating literary schools and currents:* Within thirty or thirty-three years one literary school is superseded by others (Millard).<sup>41</sup> *Dominating political parties and governmental policy and other social phenomena* have a cycle of thirty to thirty-three years. This span of time, about one generation, is one of the natural units of historical period (O. Lorenz, K. Joël, G. Ferrari).<sup>47</sup>

*Forty-eight- and sixty-year cycles. Business cycles and phenomena correlated with the large business cycles:* The first period of the large business cycles is marked by social upheavals, wars, revolutions and other notable social and political changes (N. Kondratieff, A. Spiethoff, Moore).<sup>48</sup>

*One-hundred-year cycles.* A great many historical processes run through one hundred year cycles as a "natural" historical period. Great social upheavals, like the major French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the World War and the

contemporary revolutions, the Renaissance and the Reformation occur in a period of about one hundred years (O. Lorenz, K. Joël, Ad. Bartels, Fr. Kummer).<sup>47</sup>

*Two hundred year cycles.* Fluctuation of birth and death rate (D. J. Brownlee).

*Three hundred year cycles. Great social changes:* The beginning and the fall of dynasties; several religious, social, and political institutions and ideological systems either appear and decline within this period, or undergo a radical change in their organization and fate (O. Lorenz, K. Joël, <sup>47</sup> W. Scherer).<sup>49</sup>

*Five hundred year cycles.* The Approximate period for the growth and decline of some cultures and states (Persia, Greece) or for a complete epoch in the history of a nation after which there begins a new and quite different epoch of the second or the third five-hundred year period (Millard).<sup>41</sup>

*Six-, twelve- and eighteen-hundred-year cycles.* Some fundamental historical processes run their whole course within six hundred, or twelve hundred or eighteen hundred years. Epoch-making events mark the end of each of these periods. (Lorenz, Joël, W. Scherer).<sup>47,49</sup>

*Thirteen hundred and thirty year cycles.* The period of a great revolution in the change of civilization (W. Petrie).<sup>50</sup>

The above list, although incomplete, gives some idea of the variety of periodical cycles indicated by different authors. Let us now proceed to the non-periodical cycles and rhythms.

#### *Non-periodical cycles and rhythms*

Besides the periodical cycles many authors have indicated non-periodical rhythms, fluctuations and cycles. Here

<sup>45</sup> J. Dromel, *La loi des révolutions*.

<sup>46</sup> Moore, *Economic cycles*, W. H. Beveridge, *Weather and Harvest Cycles*, *The Economic Journal*, 1921, 429-49.

<sup>47</sup> O. Lorenz, *Die Geschichtswissenschaft in Hauptrichtungen und Aufgaben*, 1886; O. Lorenz, *Leopold von Ranke*, 1891; K. Joël, *Der seculare Rhythmus der Geschichte*, *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*, B. I, 1925; G. Ferrari, *Teoria dei periodici politici*, 1874.

<sup>48</sup> N. Kondratieff, *Great Cycles of the Conjunction* (russ.), *Voprosy Kon' junctury*, v. I, 1925; A. Spiethoff, *Krisen*, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissensch.*, 4th ed.; Moore, *Generating Cycles*.

<sup>49</sup> W. Scherer, *Geschichte der Deutsch. Literature*, Introduction and ch. I.

<sup>50</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *The Revolutions of Civilizations*, 1911.



are samples of such theories. *Invention cycle*: An incline, a plateau, and a decline (Michailovsky, Tarde, Bogardus, Chapin, Ogburn, and many others).<sup>51</sup> *Social process cycle*: Imitation, radiation, opposition, adaptation (Tarde, Hayes, Ross, Ellwood, and many others).<sup>52</sup> *Social institution and organization cycle*: Emergence of an institution, its growth, expansion and complication, its disintegration (F. S. Chapin, W. Ogburn, and many others).<sup>53</sup> *Cycle in the life of a dogma, a belief, or an ideology*: Appearance, struggle against other dogmas or ideologies, growth, dogmatization, and decline. In addition, a cyclical fluctuation of popularity and unpopularity of many dogmas (V. Pareto, Guignebert, Sorokin).<sup>54</sup> *Rhythm of the epochs* with a spiritual-religious-ethical and with a materialistic-technical civilization. This non-periodical cycle is a long-time cycle of about two or three or four centuries (Veber).<sup>55</sup> Rhythm of "the critical" and dynamic periods in history and that of "the organic" and static epoch (S. Simon, Pareto, P. Lavrov).<sup>56</sup> Rhythm of an expansion and decrease of state interference (H. Spencer, Pareto, P. Sorokin).<sup>57</sup>

<sup>51</sup> N. Michailovsky, *Heroes, and Mob*, russ.; G. Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*; E. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology*; F. S. Chapin, *A Theory of Synchronous Culture Cycles*, J. of Soc. Forces, May, 1925; W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*.

<sup>52</sup> Tarde, *Les Lois Sociales*, Hayes, E. C. *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*; E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*; Ch. Ellwood, *The Psychology of Human Society*.

<sup>53</sup> F. S. Chapin, *op. cit.*; W. F. Ogburn, *op. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> V. Pareto, *Trattato di sociologia generale*, vv. I, II, 1916; Guignebert, *L'Evolution des dogmes*, 1910; P. Sorokin, *Inanition and Ideology*, Ekonomist, (russ.), No. 5, 1922.

<sup>55</sup> Veber, *Le rythme du progrès*, 1913.

<sup>56</sup> S. Simon, *Letters of an Inhabitant of Geneva to his Contemporaries*; Pareto, *op. cit.* P. Lavrov, *Zadachi ponimania istorii* (russ.), Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, 1927.

<sup>57</sup> H. Spencer, *Principles of sociology*, v. II, ch. XVII, v. III, chs. XXII, XXIII; P. Sorokin, *Influence of Inanition on Social Organisation*, russ., Ekonomist, v. III, 1922.

Rhythm of an increase and decrease of economic differentiation and inequality (G. Schmoller).<sup>58</sup> Rhythm of the periods of prosperity and impoverishment in the life of a nation (D'Avenel).<sup>59</sup> Rhythm of the epochs of a rapid increase of population and that of a very slow increase or even a decrease of population (G. Schmoller). Cycle in the life of a nation or culture: Appearance, growth, decline (Danilevsky, O. Spengler, O. Ammon, V. de Lapouge, G. Hansen, C. Gini).<sup>60</sup> Cycle in the rise and decline of intellectual, political, and financial aristocracies (P. Jacoby and others).<sup>61</sup> Cycle in the course of revolution: Period of "liberation" and that of "restraint" (P. Sorokin).<sup>62</sup>

The above is enough to give an idea of a great variety of different rhythms and cycles which have been indicated by different authors. All kinds of cyclical conceptions of historical and social change may be summed up in the following scheme.

*Cyclical conception of historical and social change*

I. Ever-repeating identical cycles

|   |                |                             |
|---|----------------|-----------------------------|
| II. Linear or spiral cycles which tend toward a definite goal | Periodical     | { Progressive<br>Regressive |
|   | Non-periodical | { Progressive<br>Regressive |

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| III. Cycles and rhythms which are neither identical nor tending toward a goal | Periodical     |
|   | Non-periodical |

<sup>58</sup> G. Schmoller, *Die Einkommensverteilung in alter und neuer Zeit*. Bull. de l'Inst. Intern. de Stat. v. IX, Sorokin, *Soc. Mobility*.

<sup>59</sup> D'Avenel, *Payans et Ouvriers*, 1899; *La Fortune Privée*, 1895.

<sup>60</sup> Danilevsky, *Russia and Europe*, russ.; O. Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, vv. I, II; V. de Lapouge, *Les Sélections sociales*, 1896; O. Ammon, *Die Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre natürlichen Grundlagen*, 1895; G. Hansen, *Die Drei Bevölkerungsstufen*, 1889; C. Gini, *I fattori demografici dell'evoluzione delle nazioni*, 1912.

<sup>61</sup> P. Jacoby, *Études sur la sélection chez l'homme*, 1904.

<sup>62</sup> Sorokin, *The Sociology of Revolution*, 1925.

## III. CONCLUSION

It is not my intention to discuss here the above theories and the many complex problems connected with the problem of historical process and social change. I have discussed them elsewhere.<sup>63</sup> Here I only desire to express dogmatically several statements which, in my opinion, may contend for scientific validity. They are as follows:

The existence of the ever-repeating identical cycles, whether in the evolution of the whole world or in the history of mankind, is not proved. Consequently the corresponding theories of identical cycles are likely to be in error.

The existence of a definite, steady, and eternal trend in historical and social change has not been proved either. All attempts to establish the existence of such a tendency have failed. Among hundreds of such trends, formulated by various authors, I do not know a single one which, after a careful, scientific scrutiny could be said to have scientific validity. It is certain that there may be some temporary "secular trends" and "tendencies," but many of them have been only a part of a long-time cycle, and there is no guaranty that all such tendencies would not share the same fate. Even such an apparently doubtless tendency as an increase of human population on this planet may be a long-time parabola—at least, the natural sciences which predict

the future cooling of the sun seem to suggest this conclusion, namely, that parallel to the cooling of the sun the amount of life and the human population have to decrease also. G. Tarde, in his utopia very vividly depicted this process. V. de Lapouge has outlined it in scientific terms. For this reason, linear and eschatological theories of social and historical process seem to be speculation rather than scientific conceptions. As to theories of progress or regress, since they are "judgments of evaluation," they are doomed, because of this very fact, to be subjective and, according to their logical nature, never can be scientific statements. "Science always speaks in the indicative and never in the imperative mood, as the ethical statements and the judgments of evaluation do," says H. Poincaré quite properly. Thus far the theories of progress, with their evaluation of what is good and what is bad, what is progressive and what is not, may express only the subjective tastes of their authors, and nothing more.<sup>64</sup> If sociology is going to be a science it must get rid of such judgments of evaluation.<sup>65</sup>

From the above, it follows that it is possible to speak only of a temporary and conditional trend or tendency, which, being a trend during a comparatively short period of time, may be superseded by an opposite trend, and in this way finally may happen to be part of a long-time cycle.

From this position of sociological relativism, a study of the cyclical and rhyth-

<sup>63</sup> Vid., Sorokin, *The Fundamental Problems of a Theory of Progress*, New Ideas in Sociology, v. III, russ.; *The Concept of Evolution and Progress*, The Psych. Review, russ., September, 1911; *The Theory of Social Factors*, In Memory of M. Kovalevsky, russ., 1917 see also H. Rikkert, *Die Grenzen d. Naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung*; W. Windelband, *Die Prelüden*; Xénopol, *La théorie de l'histoire*, 1908; G. Simmel, *Die Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie; Hauptprobleme der Philosophie*, A. Lappo-Danilevsky, *Methodology of History*, vv. I, II; russ.

<sup>64</sup> See Sorokin, "Is Ethics a Normative Science and Is a Normative Science Logically Possible," Psych. Review, russ., 1914; V. Pareto, *op. cit.*, part I, and passim; Poincaré, *Science and Ethics*; *Dernière Pensées* See; Husserl, *Logische Untersuchung* s, russ. tr., p. 33-4; Sigwart, *Die Logik*, russ., tr., v. I, p. 425.

<sup>65</sup> From this standpoint Pareto's pitiless criticism of all evaluating judgments and theories in sociology appears to me as entirely valid.

mical repetitions in social phenomena is, at the present moment, one of the most important tasks of sociology. It must be promoted by all means because it provides many conveniences for solving the most important sociological problems. The field of the repeated phenomena provides a possibility to grasp the regularities of social process: where there is no repetition, there is no possibility of observing regularity and, consequently, of formulating a sociological law or a valid generalization. Without such generalizations the very *raison d'être* of sociology, as a nomographic science, disappears. In the second place, this field is more convenient for a study of causal dependence and functional interdependence of different social phenomena than the field of the unrepeated processes. In the third place, the repeated rhythmical processes seem to be the most convenient for a quantitative study, which is the final purpose of any generalizing science. If in this way we may obtain only an approximately true generalization, thus must not trouble us. We still know so little in

the "mysterious" world of social events that any real approximate knowledge is of great value. If, among the above, there are some childish theories, this does not vitiate others which comprise comparatively the most valid generalizations of the social sciences. By the study of an ever increasing number of different social phenomena which are repeated from time to time, we approach nearer a solution of the problems of what in the incessantly changing process of history is relatively permanent and what is quite temporary; what is relatively universal and what is purely local; what is the tempo of a change of different social processes; what relations between two or more phenomena are incidental and which are really causal. In this way sociology may more and more transform itself into this real "Scienza Nuova" of which the great Vico dreamed and which he tried to establish. As far as I can see, sociology and the social sciences, for the last few decades, have been drifting in that direction. Such a drift in my opinion should be welcomed.

#### THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

The common tendency to consider *culture* and *civilization* as synonymous sometimes leads to confusion and difficulty of analysis for the student of sociology and social sciences other than anthropology. If "civilization" has come to connote certain forms, patterns and processes different from "culture," it would seem advisable to admit of these distinctions in definition, if only for better study. Suppose, therefore, for the sake of discus-

sion we define culture as the aggregate or sum total of the products and processes of social experience and interpret "civilization" as "culture" plus demotic or civic control. Of course civilization and culture are always synonymous in parts, but does primitive culture include so markedly the element of conscious direction, telic social organization, or civic drive? or is "culture" a definitive term while "civilization" is descriptive?—HOWARD W. ODUM



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## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

#### RURAL SOCIOLOGY: INDISPENSABLE OR MERELY DESIRABLE

JESSE FREDERICK STEINER

THE transition from the apprenticeship type of training for social work to that offered by the professional school under university auspices has been marked by a great deal of confusion and uncertainty concerning the rôle of the social sciences in this relatively new field of professional education. In common with the other professions during their early stages of development, social work has been characterized by a distrust of academic points of view and methods of work. This has often found expression in the cynical comments of the social worker upon the futility of armchair theory in dealing with practical social problems. To a large degree this conflict between the social worker and the social scientist has centered about the field of sociology perhaps because this phase of social science seems most closely related to the programs of the social worker. During the past decade the relation between sociology and social work has been a favorite topic for discussion at various meetings and conferences without apparently leading to any generally accepted principles or policies for the guidance of curriculum makers.

More recently with the new emphasis upon the development of a rural social

work training program, there have arisen similar questions concerning the value of rural sociology as a part of the equipment of the rural social worker. Obviously the whole controversy has grown out of misapprehensions of the precise nature of the interdependence of these two methods of approach to a common problem. Both the sociologist and the social worker tend to pass judgment on each other's methods and programs in terms of their own immediate interests instead of emphasizing their larger aspects and relationships. The social worker has no time to give to sociology if it does not provide direct aid in solving the specific problems he faces. The sociologist, in his turn, ignores the social worker because the latter seems to be wrapped up entirely in the matter of securing practical results. Back of all this misunderstanding are two different types of mind made more divergent through the kind of training received and inclined to be somewhat hostile because their very closely related interests make their fields at least potentially competitive. The whole situation has been still further clouded by the too common fallacy of basing conclusions upon worst instances and assuming the continued existence of defects long since outgrown.

The sociologist, for example, too frequently retains his early and biased impressions of social work as sentimental patch work, while the social worker thinks that the barren sociology with which he may have come in contact a decade ago is typical of its present status.

Fortunately the whole trend at the present time is in the direction of a better integration of social science and social work. The old misunderstandings and prejudices do not loom up as large as formerly, and in some instances have almost entirely disappeared. In the fields of rural sociology and rural social work, where as yet there is no overcrowding of competing workers and where the social situation as compared with that in cities is relatively simple, it ought to be possible to bring together these two groups and find common ground upon which they can stand. Perhaps a restatement of some of the more fundamental problems faced by the rural social worker may make clear the vital inter-relationships of rural sociology and rural social work and pave the way for a better coördination of their forces.

In the first place the rural social work situation is beset by difficulties which the experience gained in urban social work has thus far not shown how to overcome. The great distances and the resulting difficulties of transportation, the scattered population often living in places not easily accessible, the lack of adequate economic resources, the small number of coöperating agencies, and the individualistic attitudes of the people, are among the problems that account for the slow spread of social work in rural communities. Furthermore some understanding must be reached concerning the proper unit of administration and the plan of organization before much headway can be made in

building up efficient rural social agencies. It is not merely a matter of arbitrarily enlarging the boundaries and budgets of existing city agencies so that the traditional forms of social work can be extended into the open country. Unless new policies are worked out in accord with the demands of the rural situation, the results of this more comprehensive social work program may prove to be disappointing.

In planning a program of rural social work, it must be recognized that its problems are closely bound up with the vast changes now going on with such great rapidity in the whole rural situation. The social problems of the open country cannot be understood apart from such phenomena as the drift to cities, the improved means of transportation, the raising of educational standards, the wider use of farm machinery, the hard struggle for adequate economic returns, the decline of the rural and small town population, and similar factors that are transforming the whole nature of rural life. Under these circumstances, to entrust the development of rural social work to persons whose training makes them primarily interested in extending to rural sections the particular technique of social work in which they are skilled, is a policy not likely to lead to the best results. In this pioneer stage of development of social work in the open country, leaders are required who through profound study as well as practical experience are fitted to establish policies and adopt methods in accord with actual needs.

The preparation of rural social workers competent to do work of this nature is a difficult undertaking. Only a few of the professional schools give particular attention to the training of rural social workers, and these are not agreed concerning the subjects of study to be emphasized nor the

type of work-experience that would be most valuable. Certainly the well prepared rural worker should possess in addition to social work technique a keen insight into the characteristics of rural life and a well rounded knowledge of rural people. While many elements must enter into the acquirement of this thorough understanding of rural situations, the study of rural sociology would seem to be indispensable for it represents that aspect of social science which during the past twenty-five years has attempted to organize in a systematic manner our constantly growing knowledge of the social forces at work in rural communities. Admittedly, this body of knowledge is not yet adequately organized, for rural sociology is one of the most recently developed phases of social science. Nevertheless, great progress has been made in this field especially during the past decade, and the rural social worker can afford no longer to ignore the researches of this group of students who are throwing new light on rural social problems. Technical skill to be effective in the long run must go hand in hand with theory. Through careful study of the work of the rural sociologists, the social worker will become familiar with concepts useful in social analysis and will acquire a point of view and a method of approach of distinct value in formulating his social programs. While this may seem to bear more directly upon his intellectual equipment, out of this study may come profound modifications of his technique in handling actual situations. In order to make clear the precise nature of the help that should come through rural sociology, let us examine more closely some of the important factors that should enter into this intellectual equipment of the rural social worker.

In the first place there must be an understanding of the nature and signifi-

cance of rural social attitudes. The farmer is commonly said to be individualistic and conservative. His reaction to proposed schemes of community improvement is likely to be unfavorable even though it seems clear that the changes would be in accord with his own best interests. New methods of farming, the building up of cooperative marketing, reforms in local government, the consolidation of schools, and in fact all matters that involve a distinct break with the past, are likely when first proposed to meet with his determined opposition. All this the social worker may be familiar with, but the first step in dealing with this problem of conservatism is a clear understanding of the way these attitudes have been developed and the rôle they play in the lives of the people. The social worker who is not familiar with what Galpin, Groves, Gillette, Hawthorn, and Williams have said about the nature and significance of the attitudes of rural people has closed an important door of knowledge which must have its effect upon the quality of his work. Without doubt, a part of the technique of rural social work must be concerned with the changing of attitudes for unless this can be accomplished, social work programs cannot make much headway. Some means must be devised for building up new rural attitudes concerning relief work, juvenile delinquency, care of dependent children, and supervised recreation. In the effort to bring this about all the resources of the sociologists and social psychologists should be utilized, for there we may find clues of real value in building up a more adequate technique.

Of equal importance in this intellectual equipment of the rural social worker is familiarity with sociological concepts that facilitate social analysis. Concepts are intellectual tools without which con-



structive thinking is impossible. Every science builds up its own concepts with very definite connotations and meanings that are the outgrowth of study and experience. In sociology such concepts as social contact, isolation, competition, conflict, accommodation, assimilation, social forces, social control, and socialization, have become familiar to students in this field and are constantly being used in the investigation and interpretation of concrete situations. For the social worker to be unable to make adequate use of this means of approach to a better understanding of social problems is to cut himself off from a source of help that is becoming increasingly important. Rural sociology, it is true, has in its earlier development been mainly a descriptive science in which emphasis has been placed on the presentation of facts concerning the rural population, rural institutions, and rural conditions. It is significant, however, that the most recent book in this field, Hawthorn's *Sociology of Rural Life* is built up around the concept of socialization. In this book the rural institutions and the various factors that enter into the rural situation are set forth from the point of view of their bearing upon the social contacts of the people. Looked at in this way, rural social problems take on a new meaning and clues are furnished which open up more fruitful means of investigation and interpretation. The rural social worker, who has become accustomed to think in terms of the various sociological concepts, possesses a more secure foundation upon which to build constructive programs vitally related to existing needs.

Again, in the planning of rural social work there should be full knowledge of the recent studies of the nature and significance of the community as a social unit. Among the rural sociologists, Gal-

pin was the first to make a searching analysis of the rural community in order to determine its natural boundaries, the actual territory served by its various institutions, and its interrelations with neighboring towns and cities. More recently the urban sociologists have directed attention to the ecological aspects of the city community and have pointed out the rôle of topography and other physical characteristics in the development of natural communities, the significance of which has too often been ignored by those interested in community organization. In these days of more rapid transportation, old neighborhood lines are breaking down and new forces are at work conditioning the natural organization of communities in the open country as well as in the city. All this has an important bearing upon the problem of the organization and administration of rural social work. In the selection of the most suitable administrative unit, due consideration must be given to the fact that our politically determined communities do not always coincide with natural and cultural communities. Before going far in the promotion of rural social work programs, there should be careful study of the interrelations of city and country and of the nature of the enlarged community relationships made inevitable by existing conditions. Here is an important field of investigation which the rural sociologists have been cultivating during the past decade. While no reliable conclusions are as yet available, this bears so directly upon the success of practical programs that the rural social worker should keep himself informed as to the theories advanced and work hand in hand with the sociologists in further elucidation of the points at issue.

Another contribution which comes to the social worker through the study of

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rural sociology is the conception of the complex nature of rural social problems, and therefore the futility of remedying the situation by concentration upon any single program. From the point of view of sociology, the constellation of social forces in a community are constantly interacting upon all phases of community life. The breakdown of one institution is reflected in the status of other institutions. Poverty of tenant farmers may seem to grow out of low productivity of the soil but is associated also with an incompetent class of people, low educational standards, poor living conditions, inadequacy of neighborhood institutions, and a bad system of farm management. A program adequate to deal with this problem of poverty would need to comprise more than the usual technique of an Associated Charities. This suggests that a social work program of a rural community should be simply one aspect of a comprehensive plan covering all the needs of the community. For rural social workers to proceed with the organization of social agencies without adequate steps being taken to improve the economic and educational situation may prove to be a shortsighted policy with no lasting good results. In the large city where the various civic interests are well organized, the social worker may with some justification confine his attention to the particular social problems with which he is concerned. Under such circumstances he may very well assume that adequate financial resources can be made available for his program and that properly equipped groups of people are taking an interest in other related and equally vital problems of civic improvement. But in the rural community every step in the development of a social work program must be considered in relation to other community interests. Will the proposed undertaking

draw too heavily upon available economic resources? Will the leadership required in directing this new social agency divert leadership from other important community enterprises? Perhaps a more careful study of the whole rural situation may lead to the conclusion that the urban methods of organization to deal with social problems are unnecessary as well as inadvisable in the open country. At any rate students in the field of rural sociology are becoming more convinced of the wide reaching nature of the problems of our rural civilization and are skeptical of programs that seem to deal primarily with superficial conditions. Here again is needed the cooperation of the social worker in developing sound theory. Instead of standing aloof with little apparent appreciation of the efforts of the academic group to develop a social science upon which to base social programs, the social worker should continually evaluate the results of his practical experiments and endeavor to place his work on a more scientific basis.

In conclusion, it would seem that the closely related interests of rural sociology and rural social work would bring about general acceptance of the necessity of cooperation between the two fields. Since sociology is definitely interested in such topics of vital import to the social worker as the nature of rural attitudes, methods of social analysis, the community as a social unit, the complexity of social problems, and similar matters of mutual concern, it seems absurd to raise the question whether rural sociology is indispensable in the preparation for rural social work. Even granting that the present sociological discussions of these problems are disappointing from the point of view of the practical worker, the latter cannot afford to be ignorant of the current trends of academic thought concerning matters

in which he has profound interest. During the past few years there has appeared evidence in some quarters that the wide gulf that has separated the social scientists and the social workers is being bridged to the mutual benefit of both groups. In a recent official statement by the psychiatric social workers published under the auspices of the American Association of Social Workers, there is set forth in the following words their conception of the place of the social sciences in their training courses: "Psychiatric social work requires such a specialized background of psychiatric and psychological knowledge, in addition to thorough training in sociology and the technique of social case work, that entrance into the field is practically limited to those who have had graduate training courses in psychiatric social work in a recognized school of social work. . . . An A.B. degree is usually required for admission to such schools, and undergraduate majors in sociology and psychology and courses in biology, physiology, economics, and political science will be found helpful."

Unfortunately, this statement is offset by a still more recent pronouncement, issued under the same auspices, by the

family social work group who seem to find small place for the social sciences in training programs. The following quotation makes clear their position: "A well rounded college curriculum affording broad cultural education is regarded as the best training in family case work, rather than a course of studies too closely related to the social sciences." If this represents the point of view of the oldest and most influential group of social workers, then the outlook is discouraging for a closer alliance between social science and social work. Those whose business it is to deal with the problems of society are advised to avoid "a course of studies too closely related to the social sciences." This policy of indifference to the value of the social sciences is postponing the day when social work can successfully establish its professional status and make true its claims to scientific procedure. One of the next steps to be taken in the field of education for social work is a reorganization of the curricula of the professional schools so as to bring about a better integration of graduate courses in the social sciences with the usual technical courses of instruction.

#### STUDYING SOCIAL WORK OPPORTUNITIES

The American Association of Social Workers is presenting four important pamphlets prepared by committees of specialists, authorities in their respective fields, and prefaced by Porter R. Lee, editor of the series. They include a definition of the work, training and experience requirements, salaries paid, and a description of the extent of the field of service. The four fields covered include *Psychiatric Social Work*, *Family Social Work*, *Medical Social Work*, and *Child Welfare Work*.



## A NEW GRAPHICAL METHOD OF DEPICTING HISTORICAL EVENTS

ARTHUR O. DAHLBERG

THE presentation of historical data by tabular means has always been quite unsatisfactory because the mere tabulation of events with corresponding dates is quite incapable of portraying to the reader a vivid picture of the dependency of one event upon another,—quite incapable of graphically depicting the source, duration, and time relationship of events. The mere listing of historical occurrences with their accompanying dates does not graphically synthesize for the reader the cultural flux of political movements, social theories, inventions and discoveries. The accompanying chart aims to provide this graphic synthesis.

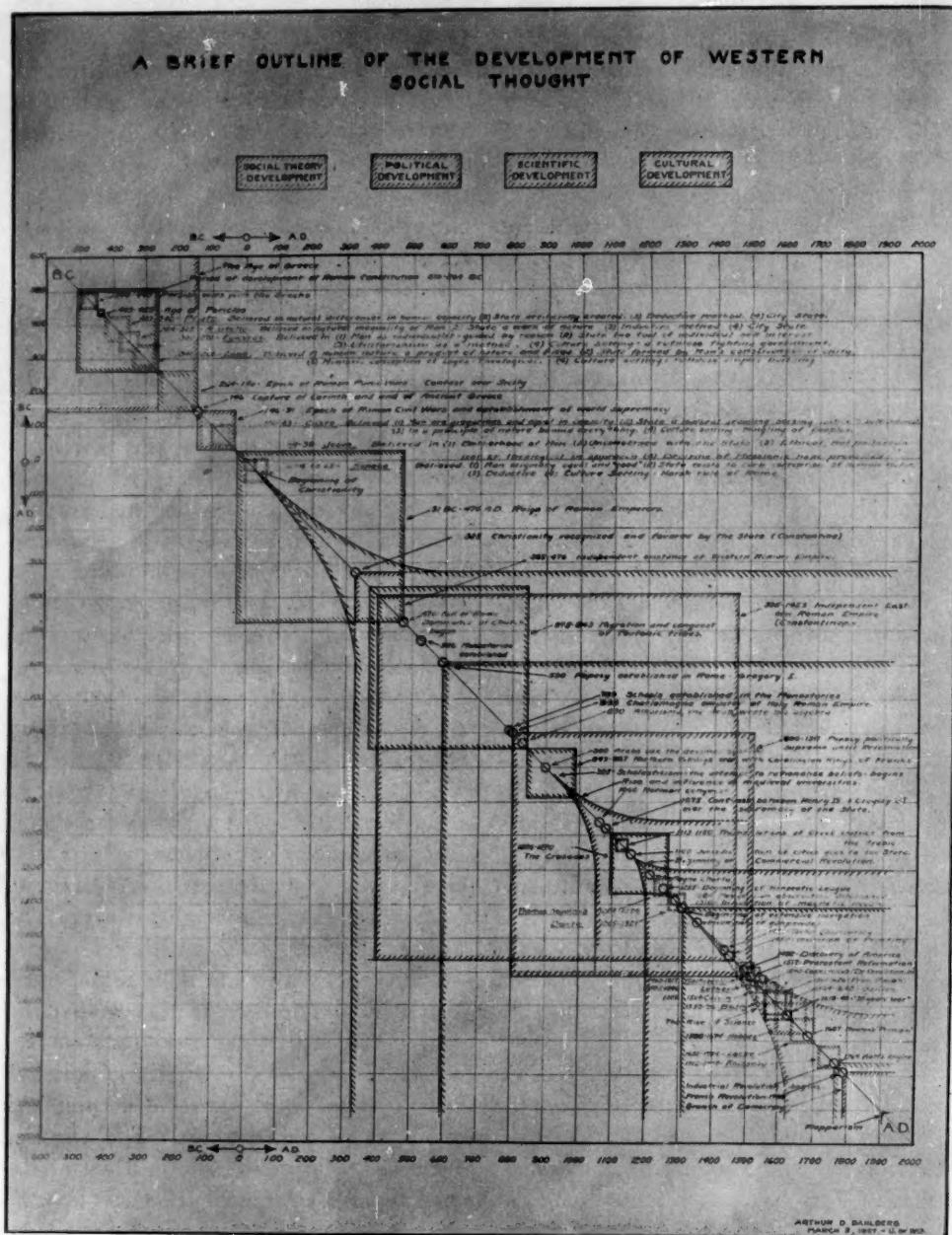
In the ordinary historical time chart, the duration of a period, movement, or event is represented as spanning a certain number of years, and, since the duration is thus shown in but one dimension, the reader unthinkingly infers that the influence of the particular historical occurrence has been constant for the time interval spanned. In the new time chart the duration of a period is shown in two dimensions. Time, expressed in years, is plotted along both the  $x$  and the  $y$  axis. The duration is thus squared, and the reader unthinkingly infers that the influence is also squared.

It seems to the writer to be more in accord with historical fact to regard the growth and influence of historical occurrences as squaring themselves as the years go by. This view, while undoubtedly far from exact, perhaps does enable us to come closer to an actual portrayal of what happened in the past, than if the influences were portrayed as being constant through their lifetimes. For example, the in-

fluence and significance of historical movements like the expansion of the Roman Empire, the spread of Christianity, or the rise of science certainly did not remain constant from the very year when the movements began, but rather they increased with the passage of time. The new chart assumes that they increased as the square of the time which elapsed from the beginning of the movements. Even though this new arbitrary method of squaring the period of duration (and, inferentially, of squaring the period of influence) were not entirely true, it has this big advantage over the usual graphic presentation: it permits of showing graphically how one idea, movement, or event, was antedated by, or grew out of, another idea, movement, or event. It is because it makes possible this portrayal of organic growth that the new type of chart can synthesize historical events for the reader.

The accompanying chart serves to illustrate the idea. It sketches, as the writer sees them, the events of outstanding social significance from Grecian times until the latter part of the eighteenth century. The original drawing from which the photograph was taken was made in four colors. Black lines were used to show what the writer considered to be cultural movements and events; brown lines, political events; blue lines, scientific events; and red lines, social theories. The theories were plotted through the medium of the men who contributed them. (In this particular chart an attempt was made to list, for certain outstanding social theorists, their (1) views on the original nature of man, (2) their views on the origin and formation of the state, (3)

their method of securing ideas, and (4) at the chart will show, for example, that the culture setting of their time, but, due the translation of the Greek classics



to limitations of space, this was done only for the earlier theorists.) The rest of the chart is self-explanatory. A glance

from the Arabic, as well as the commercial revolution, began during the period of the Crusades.

The accompanying chart obviously attempts to cover a long cultural span. Other more detailed charts could easily have been made to cover, say, a century, a decade, or the life span of a nation. Charts on the above order could be used for many purposes. The evolution of legal concepts, of trade union movements, of industrial techniques, of governmental

structures, could all be portrayed quite vividly in this manner. Charts could be used to integrate the material of history textbooks. Not only that, but, just as the schools have been using geographical maps, so they can now use historical charts to depict for the benefit of the "eye-minded"—which is in reality most of us—the history of ideas and nations.

## DOES THE INDIVIDUAL TEND TO BE CONSISTENTLY A PROGRESSIVE OR A CONSERVATIVE

ELLERY F. REED

THIS study was originally directed to throw some light upon the question as to whether people generally are consistent in their attitudes of conservatism, progressivism, or radicalism. Is a person who is conservative in the field of economic philosophy likely also to be conservative in his religion, in his attitude toward nationalism and race relationships?

Prof. A. B. Wolfe in his admirable work, *Conservatism, Radicalism and Scientific Method*, answers this question in the affirmative. On page ten of this book Professor Wolfe says, "When we say that an individual is characterized by a conservative attitude we mean that we expect him to manifest a certain type of sentiment, 'for' or 'against,' in a large variety of specifically different situations. He is likely to be 'for' familiar food, the Monroe Doctrine, strict and uniform divorce laws and a literally inspired Bible, and in general against the new and unfamiliar." . . . "If we know a person's sentiment-patterns, that is, his attitudes, we can predict, at least roughly, his reaction in any particular situation."

The author's hypothesis had been quite different from that of Professor Wolfe,

although he had had no other grounds than personal observation for such an opinion before making the present study, but neither has Professor Wolfe in the above named volume given us evidence to substantiate his hypothesis. In his effort to secure some real evidence on the question the present author devised a questionnaire on international, religious, governmental, sex, economic and race issues.

It should be explained that in classifying the answers a progressive attitude was defined as an attitude favorable to change from the conditions, beliefs, or sentiments generally prevalent in the past or the present. Conversely, a conservative attitude was regarded as one confirming the beliefs, attitudes and processes generally prevalent in this country at the present time. The definition of progressive or conservative strictly avoided any judgment of values, moral or otherwise.

It was found impracticable to distinguish on the basis of the answers to the questions as between a conservative or reactionary attitude on one hand or between a progressive or radical attitude on the other. The study therefore recognizes only two groups, the progressive



and the conservative. The questionnaire included such questions as the following:

Do you favor the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations?

Do you favor permitting baseball as a form of public recreation on Sunday?

Do you favor the federal regulation of child labor?

Should the present laws against the giving of birth control information be repealed?

Is the able-bodied and mentally sound adult who does no useful work, and who lives on the income from inherited wealth, a social menace?

Should white and colored children and youth be educated in the same schools and colleges?

Two hundred and fifty-five of these questionnaires were filled out with sufficient completeness to make them useful in the present study. Twenty-one questionnaires were returned by the Hamilton Labor College, (an evening school conducted by professors from Miami University and attended principally by members of various trade unions); 31 from members of the faculty of Miami University; 83 from the University of Cincinnati, mostly from students; 37 from the students of the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati; 25 from Brookwood College of Katonah, New York (an institution devoted to training leaders for the labor movement); 11 from Commonwealth College of Mena, Arkansas (a labor college); 15 from the Rand School of Social Sciences in New York; 8 from students and teachers of Oxford College for Women, Oxford, Ohio, and 24 from students of Western College for Women, Oxford, Ohio.

It cannot be claimed that these groups are representative of the people at large. They probably contain far more of the progressive and radical element than could be found among the great mass of the public.

This fact, however, apparently biases the results in the direction of a larger percentage of persons showing consistency of attitude in the various fields, for it

was found that the returns from the most radical groups were the ones that were most consistent, and indeed these made up a large part of those that were found consistent in all fields. Not a single questionnaire was found to have been answered consistently in the conservative in every field. In this connection it may be mentioned that it was not required that every question should be answered in the conservative or progressive tenor in order that the person answering the questionnaire should be counted respectively as conservative or progressive. If a majority of the answers in any field were conservative or progressive the person was counted to be conservative or progressive, as the case might be, in that field.

The total number of cases of consistent attitudes in all fields on this basis was 78 or 30.58 per cent of the total number. The total number consistent in all but one field was 55 or 21.57 per cent.

If we count that the questions in one of the fields may not have revealed correctly in all cases the general attitude of the person in that field and count that person as consistently progressive whose answers were progressive in every field except one and add the total number of such persons to those who were actually consistent in every field, we have a total of 133 or 52.12 per cent of the total of 255 returns.

This percentage is not enough to substantiate Professor Wolfe's conclusion that people generally are either consistently progressive or consistently conservative in all fields of thought. If it were possible to measure progressivism or conservatism in fields of thought outside that of the social sciences and ascertain whether a man was progressive or conservative in his business methods, in manufacturing or engineering technique, in his financial policies, manner of dress, eating, etc., as Professor Wolfe suggests, it is the

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opinion of the author that a lower percentage of consistency would be found than is shown by the study above reviewed.

Professor Wolfe's idea suggests the old formal discipline theory and its claim that a given quality of mind or character could be developed that would manifest itself in all situations and activities. Modern psychology asserts that training in one field holds over for another field in proportion to the similarity of the two. It would seem to be in accord with this newer psychology that the individual may be conservative in his economic and political philosophy and a radical in the fields of religion or personal morals; or, he may be in his particular business or profession a progressive leader and yet be a political standpatter. It is a matter of common observation that these different attitudes may be combined in the same person.

It may be that there is such a thing as a prestige of the new or of the old that will tend to cause a given individual to adopt new ideas or reject them wherever they are met, but in any case if he is not brought into contact with new ideas in a particular field he may remain conservative in that field. In many instances traditional or popular attitudes are accepted simply because of ignorance of actual conditions and means for their improvement. A person depending on the conventional daily press for information about society will hardly get a sufficiently integrated or accurate knowledge to build an independent philosophy; rather will the accumulation of impressions so received tend to confirm the conventional social attitudes.

Even where the new has prestige it is notable that it manifests itself much more in some directions than in others. A generally progressive community may

hold out tenaciously for the Julian Calendar, the Fahrenheit thermometer, the English system of weights and measures, and the burial of the dead as opposed to cremation.

One might suppose that the scientific attitude if attained in one field would assert itself in all fields as is stated by Professor Wolfe,<sup>1</sup> but it is a notorious fact that physical scientists of repute in their own fields have sometimes exhibited anything but a scientific attitude in regard to social issues. Scientific method is, of course, essentially the same in all fields but so different are the circumstances and conditions of its application in the social sciences as compared with the physical sciences that scientific training in the one may not much affect attitudes in the other.

The implication seems to be that if we want social change in the direction of improvement, definite training and education in regard to definite social problems and conditions must be relied upon as the means. Training in some varieties of abstract sociology may leave the individual aloof or conservative and likewise training in the mere technique of social work may be equally static in its results. Furthermore, it seems to follow that, for instance, a good course in criminology resulting in progressive attitudes in this field might leave the individual a conservative in regard to the functions of organized labor or government ownership of public utilities. It is true, of course, that when one studies one group of social problems it involves and therefore affects more or less the attitude toward related problems and conditions.

Perhaps the whole matter is summed up in the proposition that the social philosophy of an individual is usually

<sup>1</sup> A. B. Wolfe, *Conservatism, Radicalism and Scientific Method*, page 10.

determined by his own temperament and mentality, the social facts and conditions with which he is familiar, and by the interpretations of such which may have

been presented to him. The natural result is that the social philosophy of a great many people is far from comprehensive or consistent.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

For a cheeping European view of our much maligned national life consider George E. G. Catlin's defence of "America Under Fire" in the July *Harper's*. Every great renaissance, he says, has been an age of bold experiment and preoccupation with the facts of living, and we have here a frank, sensuous, restless civilization, materialistic in its cruder aspects but at its best of a soaring idealism that presses ahead to greater conquests over nature. It is the day of man as a worker, in which the stupid or the inefficient cannot long survive. But we have not yet decided whether to use or abuse our immense resources and opportunities.

The "modern mind," now some four hundred years old, believes in human perfectability through social reform. Protestantism, puritan morality, democracy, the achievements of science, uplift by propaganda and legislation—each new magic formula has gone to pieces on the rocks of unregenerate human nature. But there is a "contemporary mind," not yet widely articulate, which is more cynical, more kindly, less easily excited than the older mind, because its judgments are based on men's actual capabilities and their tortoise-like but inevitable progress through evolution. The rest of this century, prophesies Duncan Aikman in the May number, is likely to witness violent alternations of mass despotisms and revolutions, as the idea of perfectability burns itself out among the masses, until in the

next century the new realistic leadership shall be entrusted with power over human affairs.

Development of the social sciences will be best fostered by inventiveness or constructive effort in their respective fields. Such inventiveness can take place only if large numbers of competent students become interested, if they approach their work with a good background of social data, and if they use promising methods of study. Hence a university department, points out L. C. Marshall in the April *Journal of Political Economy*, should seek to enlist the best students from secondary schools and colleges, and should organize its staff to stimulate creative work. The author illustrates his thesis with the outline of such an organization in the field of economics.

The venerable battle between "Hereditary and Environmental Factors in Human Behavior" is to be decided in favor of the latter, as L. L. Bernard argues in the *Monist* for April. Most of what we have been accustomed to call instincts are actually habit complexes, not inherited but so well learned at an early age as to become unconscious. Our actions are determined by two factors: antecedent behavior patterns and the environment, both of which work to modify through selection and adaptation that part of our nature which is inherited. To the physico-social and the bio-social environments that the



earlier sciences made us aware of, the social studies must attempt to add man's psycho-social environment, and by analyzing, organizing, and controlling it gradually come to guide his future common life.

The basis of progress—which in the realm of physics and chemistry is the compounding and organizing of atoms and molecules—becomes in social life the analogous compounding of ideas. Hence, declares I. W. Howerth in the following article, ideas based on scientific investigation, which is the sole source of truth and advancement, must be made free to originate, mingle, and be diffused over the world. Universal education is therefore "The First Principle of Social Evolution."

To supersede the famous New Decalogue comes now, in whimsical manner, "The New Testament of Science" from the lips of a Benevolent Despot, as reported by Walter B. Pitkin in the *Century* for June and July. The Despot sustains his veto of all lethal measures the eugenists propose for the weak, diseased, and ignorant by denying along half a dozen lines their evidence that mankind is deteriorating, and showing that we have bigger and better brains than in the modern highly organized world we are able to use. Maladjustment is far more common and fatal than degenerate germ-plasm, and our first need is for a wider variety of men and women with special hypersensitiveness toward all those aspects of nature which need to be understood and conquered.

Ethical behavior has usually been regarded as arising from conflict between the developing individual and the fixed principles of society. But in modern business and professional ethics we have standards

of conduct, based on the practices of highly selected and fluid groups, which have very different implications. C. F. Taeusch points out in the *International Journal of Ethics* for April how this sort of ethical conduct which appears socially immoral, may often, be justified by the value to society of group solidarity. He discusses the logical principles upon which such conduct is founded, its sanctions, its extension through the interpretation of actual "cases" that have arisen, and the possibility of using it for experimentation in the control of social behavior.

Sociology, accepting the individual merely as a datum, studies the natural process by which personality is formed and cultural continuity maintained; social change is gradual and cumulative. Biology, concerned wholly with individuals, studies the organic process by which they are produced and the continuity of species maintained; biologic change is sudden and selective. Yet the two sciences are related, as E. B. Reuter explains in the *American Journal of Sociology* for March, since concrete problems involve elements of both processes, and either process may give rise to problems in the other field.

In studying leadership we should turn to concrete situations rather than personalities, and analyze choices made by the leaders and the led, suggests LeRoy E. Bowman in the March *Journal of Applied Sociology*. Leadership is a function of collective action, and can be understood only as a part of the whole political process. . . . Rural sociology, though a new science, is an extensive one, and needs more than casual observation. Augustus W. Hayes points out that it can best be studied through the historical, the survey, and the laboratory or project methods. . . . To discover the "original nature

of man" is the business not of psychology but of sociology, according to Ross L. Finney. All culture, he holds, is implicit in the germ-plasm, and human activities are motivated by the biological needs of the organism.

The social sciences, which once possessed plenty of conclusions but few facts, have of late been busily collecting data with little reference to their value for generalization. Yet the true inductive method of science consists, we are re-

minded by C. M. Perry, neither in selecting problems for their ease of treatment, nor in a mania for counting all sorts of things, nor in criticizing motives or methods instead of results. The present scorn of analysis, deduction, and theorizing, and the contention that all social laws can be expressed statistically, are depriving the social sciences, the author believes, of many useful students and creative investigators. His article appears in the *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* for June.

#### THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

Among the important council committees and advisory committees through which the Social Science Research Council is working are those on Corporate Relations, Pioneer Belts, Inter-Racial Relations, Industrial Relations, Social Science Abstracts, Scientific Aspects of Human Migration, Cultural Areas, Crime, Juvenile Delinquency, Preliminary Survey of Crime and Criminal Justice, International Relations, Grants-in-Aid, Social and Economic Research in Agriculture, Scientific Method and the Committee on Problems and Policy.

Among the most important projects relating to teaching and research in the social sciences are those dealing with the social science abstracts and scientific method. In the case of the former the effort is made to provide social science abstracts satisfactory for economics, sociology, political science, and anthropology. In the case of the committee on Scientific Method, the effort to provide adequate source material and plan a case book for the social sciences is making considerable headway under the direction of the Council Committee and their special investigators, Stuart Rice and R. M. McIver. New contributions are being made on a large scale when the several social sciences join to attack social problems, as, for instance, when recently three presidents of the National Conference of Social Work appeared in a conference group of economists, anthropologists, psychologists, and historians studying concrete methods and problems of research.



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## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### PROGRESS IN WORK WITH THE FAMILY

THEO JACOBS

ONE'S first impulse in measuring the progress of work with the family may be to show that the progress lay in the scientific approach to family case work of today. By scientific approach to case work is meant in this paper; first, an analysis weighing all factors contributing to the maladjustment of each client, with special treatment applied to meet the needs of such a case; second, the testing of methods, scope and results of case work with families. In the 1902 proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, or as it was then called, Conference of Charities and Corrections, it will be seen that twenty-five years ago the exponents of family work were then testing their progress. It is true there was not the precision of measurement that is being attempted today, but undoubtedly the scientific approach was in its infancy at that time. With the belief today that material relief should be one of the many tools in the hands of the experienced family worker, to be used when necessary in social adjustment, one may be pardoned a little smile of amusement at the great controversy in 1902 over the possible serious disasters that might accrue from the handling of such a dangerous weapon. At the same time one is immediately struck by the wisdom and honesty of the evaluation made by one

of the advocates for such a change. He said: "The fact is recognized that charity organization societies' work is abridged by lack of adequate experience in administering relief. Relief-givers have misunderstood us largely, I think, because we have not understood relief and have emphasized our negative rather than constructive suggestions concerning it." Again "The One Test, Efficiency—the governing principle or purpose both in medicine and in charity is this: to relieve, cure and prevent distress. A practitioner of either science fails in proportion as he falls behind his profession in the ability to diagnose diseases correctly and to apply properly the best-known methods. He succeeds in proportion as he cures individual cases or protects and promotes the wholesomeness of his community. Neither the patient nor the general public nor his fellow practitioners need be greatly concerned as to whether he carries the curative agencies with him or writes an order upon some custodian of them or merely counsels another less expert physician who undertakes to secure and administer the needed remedies. Jesus mixed dust with spittle to anoint the eyes of a blind man; and the energetic practitioner of either medicine or charity, may well move heaven and earth, employ mud or prayers, give unincorporated coun-



sel or roll a wheel-barrow of potatoes, so that he cure the individual case of need and prevent or decrease the sum total of distress." Is this not a plea for a diagnosis of the individual case and experimentation in treatment as applied to that case, rather than the acceptance of a formula for general use? Could there be any greater challenge to the worker of today than that of Ernest Bicknell, Chairman of the Standing Committee of Needy Families in Their Homes? Substituting the method "case work" for the structure "organization of charity," he said: "Whether case work as now known shall live will be determined by its adaptability to gradually changing conditions. If it is moulded into rigid and changeless form, it must inevitably fall behind and be discredited and abandoned. It must have the power of adaptation which will enable it to cast off what is outworn or retards progress and retain that intelligent flexibility which will conform to the increasing complexities of civilization and take full advantage of every advance in scientific knowledge. Instead of stepping back to make way for the new idea, it will adopt and absorb it and in so doing move forward." May we then interpret the progress of work with families in the light of the principle set forth in 1904, recognizing that intelligent flexibility must lead to increased scientific methods of diagnosis and treatment?

The purpose of case work with families remains the same. It is the interpretation of its scope in the light of changing conditions and a growing body of knowledge of principles underlying social phenomena that mark its progress. Its steady growth depends upon the discriminating attitude of its exponents,—in testing the new theories in related sciences and accepting as a part, we may say, of the case-work kit such equipment as may be integrated

into an improved or new social order. The case worker is always subjected to the temptation of becoming a faddist. The enthusiasm following a new discovery is likely to bring about an imbalance in treatment of the individual as a whole, unless judgment is used in measuring the value of such discovery in bringing about social adjustment. The method used in the experiment presented so graphically by Miss Blackman in *The Family* of July, 1925, to correlate services with problems may be used also, to discover the tendency of the individual worker to be swayed unduly by the movement which is, at the time, on the crest of the wave. Is physical health, for instance, in all her cases, weighted so heavily that other problems and services are given minor consideration or completely ignored? Does her interest in a problem child overshadow the importance of other needs of the family, or of equal importance do all of her cases show a modicum of service with no weighting of individual cases?

Let us review the influence of related sciences on the content of family case work. Economists in the early days of family case work played the leading rôle. It was believed by them that social maladjustment resulted from a defective economic system,—that the stability of the money market, a more equitable distribution of wealth and income would eliminate the need for social organizations. Because the fallacy of this argument has been proven, there is an unfortunate tendency to relegate economics to a negligible place in the field of social work. Although we no longer hitch our wagon to the star of economics, one must realize that it is to the economists that we owe the statistical method of measurement, the analysis of under and over production, the prediction of business cycles, the place of organized labor, the settlement of industrial dis-

putes, insurance measures, all of which tend to stabilize society. Although economics is only one of many factors leading to family success, the effect of economic insecurity is manifested in various forms of a social behavior. It is therefore essential that the social worker should not minimize the importance of the economist in social adjustment.

Sociology, in interpreting the forces underlying social phenomena, is enabling the social worker to understand more clearly the motives that govern the activities of members of various community groups. Rural sociology, the most recent branch of sociology, is enriching social work in small isolated rural communities.

It is only necessary to sample a food budget of twenty-five years ago and one of today to note the part that bio-chemistry in its recent discoveries in nutrition is playing. Emphasis from mere sufficiency of food has been translated to nutritive values. A knowledge of nutrition is now an essential part of the equipment of every trained family worker.

Social science and health have always been so closely related, each contributing to the advancement of the other, one is not surprised to find the case worker integrating public health measures into her routine more quickly than the ordinary practicing physician. The emphasis from correction to prevention is seen in the use of health clinics for well children, instruction in health habits in the home, the sick member of the family acting as a lever for the examination of other members. The growing attitude of the case worker toward health today, in essence, is similar to the Chinese philosophy of paying a physician to keep one well.

It is to the dynamic discoveries of psychology and psychiatry that a new conception has been given to the place of environment and constitutional endow-

ment in the life of the individual. Although, as Gordon Hamilton pointed out in 1923, social workers are more inclined to think in terms of factors than facts, the crystallizing of the consideration of the individual as a whole is in a large measure due to mental hygiene. The worker is no longer treating the health, economic insufficiency, unemployment, aspects of behavior, as unrelated entities affecting the individual, but is placing her emphasis upon the individual functioning as a whole in his physical, mental, economic and social relationships.

In attacking the family problem, although in theory each member was given due consideration, as a matter of practice, in studying records, one finds as a general rule that the emphasis was placed on the parents, that the older children were only considered as economic assets or liabilities. They were seldom ever seen. The younger children were discussed in terms of school attendance unless there was a health or behavior problem in connection with them. Their mouths were counted in making a budget, but the individual as a growing, living being, molding and being molded by family life, was ignored. The child of school age was the first to emerge and command the interest of the family worker, then having completed the school requirement and being placed in a job (not necessarily the right one for him), he dropped into minor importance. The babe, due to the health movement against infant mortality, took its place with the child of school age. With the growing need for vocational guidance, the older child came in again for his share of attention, and lastly, the pre-school child has won his place. It was the study of pathological conditions surrounding each epoch of child life—infant mortality, constitutional damage due to disease attacking the child of pre-school age, illit-

eracy and delinquency of the school child, dwarfed mental and physical growth of the youth due to child labor, that finally pushed the child in all its stages into notice. The knowledge that the child has more trainable material, that elements that make for unadjustment are oftentimes the results of development from the earliest years, that all through life each of the primary factors that make up the characteristics of individuals are subject to principles of habit formation, is transforming broken doses of treatment to one of analytic and synthetic treatment of an individual whose personality is determined by his constitutional endowment, opportunities and associates through his entire life.

With the changing economic and social order brought about by inventions, industrial opportunities, transportation facilities, and devices for amusements, the family has lost much of its original usefulness, but through its place in the development of its individual members, through social heritage, ties of affection and comradeship, self expression, freedom from artificial bonds of restraint, the sense of belonging, the give and take; it still acts as a bulwark in meeting complexities of social adjustment. The eagerness with which the parents of the younger generation are preparing themselves to meet the children on their own ground, thus helping them more efficiently to solve their problems, is evinced in the organization of numerous parent and teachers associations, child study associations, college courses for parents, etc. This is most heartening to the family worker, as the broader the ramifications of family life the greater the possibilities of its enrichment. As a means of strengthening family life, may we not look forward to the old-fashioned day nursery, being run somewhat on the scientific plan of the

modern pre-school clinic, stimulating patterns of habit formation in both parent and child that will be productive of greater happiness and of more harmonious living.

Assuming that the family worker believes in the preservation of the family; to be an effective instrument in its stability, she must continue to make a more persistent effort to understand the composition of each individual family group. Until one learns the make-up of each member of the family one is unable to determine the foci of disharmony and possible disintegration. It has been found in several instances that the member least suspected before investigation has been the dominating influence. Though such an analysis leading to treatment of the individual members of the family may be the goal of the family worker, if not pushed forward steadily and reached in some cases, has the family worker a right to such a comprehensive all-inclusive terminology as "family specialist?" Is she not in a sense an adult specialist or a specialist whose area is confined by the structure of the family in contra-distinction to the child or health specialist? With the present heavy burden of work placed upon a visitor in a family agency such intensity of effort is not possible in all families, but with the growing knowledge of effort wasted on unadjustable material, greater concentration can be and is being put upon the more hopeful families.

Although we are no longer willing to test progress by successful results alone because such results, attained without careful analysis of conditioning factors, savors of magic and has no place in a profession based upon scientific principles unless these results may be broken up into units and so interpreted that they may bring about the same results under similar conditions, still the practitioner, who, on

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the other hand, devotes the major part of his time to analysis and does not integrate his findings into synthetic treatment, is not likely to create a demand for his services. That there is danger of spending too much time in the fascinating pursuit of gathering every bit of information pertaining to an individual case at the expense of time needed in building up a successful plan must not be ignored. Too frequently case records, found teeming with valuable data, show the need of a master hand. This is in a measure due to the pressure of work which prevents the worker from giving the untold hours of patient, persistent effort needed to bring about a changed point of view necessary for social adjustment. It is due in a few instances to the inability of the worker to identify herself sufficiently with the client to understand his reaction.

As a physician recognizing his limitation in curing patients suffering from a disease whose etiology at present is unknown, turns his effort to alleviating their suffering, so social workers are frankly facing their duties towards clients who under the present inadequate knowledge of certain social phenomena cannot be made assets of society. While the regular practitioner is increasing his usefulness by evaluating his time and services, the research worker must continue all efforts upon the discovery of phenomena now unsolved and often unrecognized.

Case records are invaluable store houses for research purposes. Too much gratitude to workers of twenty-five years and more cannot be expressed for the faithful, painstaking portrayal of their work. Think of the time and effort expended in writing by hand every entry upon the history sheet. From the scant sketches of facts and treatments, with the introduction of stenographers, records gradually grew into voluminous verbose pack-

ets filled with numerous repetitions. They are by no means extant today. Though burdensome to the reader to interpret causal factors and treatment in such a mass of relevant and irrelevant data, still the records never failed to give facts and reflect the changing scope of case work. With the attempt to eliminate bulk, records became in a measure chronological reports of facts, the worker bending backward to eliminate herself by excluding all impressions and suggestions. The combination of the topical and chronological form of record writing is the more recent method used to evaluate and organize in an orderly fashion data secured. The interaction of personalities of worker and client expressed in steps of treatment is essential for the refining of the processes of family case work. A few workers are blazing the way with such experimentation. Though time, thought and effort have been expended upon forms of record writing, it still remains a problem to be solved; the case worker of today has the opportunity of attacking with a fresh point of view a problem that has been tackled by many—that of making a record a living, growing repository, freed from extraneous material, capable of use for interpretation of social phenomena. To such a worker also falls the task of constructing a common terminology.

There are two decided trends that may be noted in all forms of case work and related professions; the first is seen in the consistent effort toward the analysis and synthetic treatment of the individual as a whole in contra-distinction to the treatment of his various phases of maladjustment. In education one finds great strides in fitting the child to the class rather than the class to the child. In the first stages of individualization a child presenting a behavior problem would probably have been put in an ungraded class.

An example of such behavior recently came to the attention of the writer. Upon a careful examination of the child in his relationships in and out of school it was found that he had an unusually high I.Q., instead of being feeble minded, as was first suspected. Being bored because of the simplicity of the work in his class, he began to show an anti-social attitude in school. Outside of school he showed no such behavior symptoms. With a little coaching and a summer course he skipped a grade and became an interested, well-behaved member of his class. Sight-saving classes for pupils with seriously impaired eyes, special classes for the crippled child, manual and vocational guidance clinics, are all an effort to meet the needs of the individual child. Child-placing agencies are beginning to make a more careful analysis of the needs of the particular child before placing him in a foster home, thus giving him an opportunity to develop to his greatest capacity instead of being illadjusted and made unhappy by being moved from home to home as a pawn on a chess board. The juvenile courts also are beginning to treat the whole child instead of his offense. The Boston court leads the way in scientific diagnosis preceding treatment. Family agencies are making headway in determining the place of each particular family in the development of its members, through study of the make-up of each member—his mental capacity, his ability to control and balance his emotions, his place in the affection of the family, his willingness to share responsibility, his habits, associations, ideals and ambitions. These are just a few of the movements towards individualization which promote progress in work with families.

The other trend is seen in the studies of self-examination made with units of meas-

urement of increasing accuracy. An enlightening study of a local probation department has been just recently made. Accepting the theory of probation as sound, probation in fact was tested. To determine the relative results of probation and the penal treatment, two groups of offenders were studied—those placed on probation to the Probation Department of the Supreme Bench and a like number of convicts who were released from the penitentiary at about the same time that the other group was granted probation. The results were so startling, the reorganization of the Probation Department is now in process. *How Foster Children Turn Out*, a comprehensive study made and published by the New York State Charities Aid Association is another example of self-examination.

At the risk of stressing out of proportion the importance of individual studies, mention may be made of a few completed by the Social Economics students of the Johns Hopkins University.

*Some Aspects of Public Welfare in Maryland* depicts conditions that makes one pause when speaking of progress in social work. In particular the chapter on County Homes for the Aged, with a few exceptions, puts us to shame in Maryland, for the care or rather neglect of the old people.

*The History of the Baltimore A. I. P. C.*, from its foundation in 1849 to its federation with the C. O. S. in 1902, shows the contribution this agency made to modern social science.

*Shriners' Hospitals for Crippled Children* shows a project founded on sound principles, meeting a definite need but reaching a point when its usefulness will be determined by careful planning for the future.

Other professional schools and agencies are making similar studies of equal impor-

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tance and in many instances of greater scope; all, however, are pointing in the same direction.

In conclusion, may we sum up the work with the family as being in a state of healthy growth, retaining the ideals

of the organizers, advancing side by side with its related sciences and professions, accumulating a body of principles from its own experience and pushing steadily forward in its scope to an area of greater usefulness.

## HEALTH EDUCATION AND WELFARE AGENCIES IN GEORGIA COUNTIES

BURR BLACKBURN

**A**N INCREASING number of leaders are becoming concerned because of our seeming inability to provide the necessary humanitarian services for the rural population.

Good schools, public health facilities, organized recreation, social work, libraries, etc., are provided by local government in wealthy industrial centers, while nearby rural populations are unable to pay for these services for themselves and are barred from the use of privileges enjoyed by their neighbors in the cities.

Presumably state organizations engaged in the promotion of local community programs are planning to extend these local units to reach the entire population of the state. However, most of them acknowledge that centuries will pass before their present plan will extend anything like adequate service to all the people.

It is the object of this paper to present the situation as it exists in a typical rural state after which we will suggest some changes in attitudes and lines of research which it seems to us must precede arrival at any comprehensive plan of action.

The accompanying map of Georgia indicates the extension of the humanitarian services to the counties of that state. Thirteen state and national organizations have established local units in one or more counties, as shown in Table I.

Further study of the map reveals that most of the services are located in the thirty-three rich counties which have a

TABLE I

| TYPE OF LOCAL SERVICES                               | NUMBER COUNTIES | PERCENTAGE OF COUNTIES REACHED |
|--|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Spend \$20 or more per pupil on schools.....         | 26              | 16                             |
| White farm agents and home demonstration agents..... | 43              | 27                             |
| White farm agent.....                                | 90              | 56                             |
| White home demonstration agent....                   | 56              | 35                             |
| Public health worker.....                            | 28              | 17                             |
| Social welfare worker.....                           | 17              | 10                             |
| Librarian.....                                       | 38              | 24                             |
| Public recreation system.....                        | 5               | 3                              |
| Y. M. C. A.....                                      | 14              | 9                              |
| Y. W. C. A.....                                      | 7               | 4                              |
| Boy Scout executive.....                             | 48              | 30                             |
| Girl Scout, Camp Fire executive.....                 | 1               | 0.6                            |

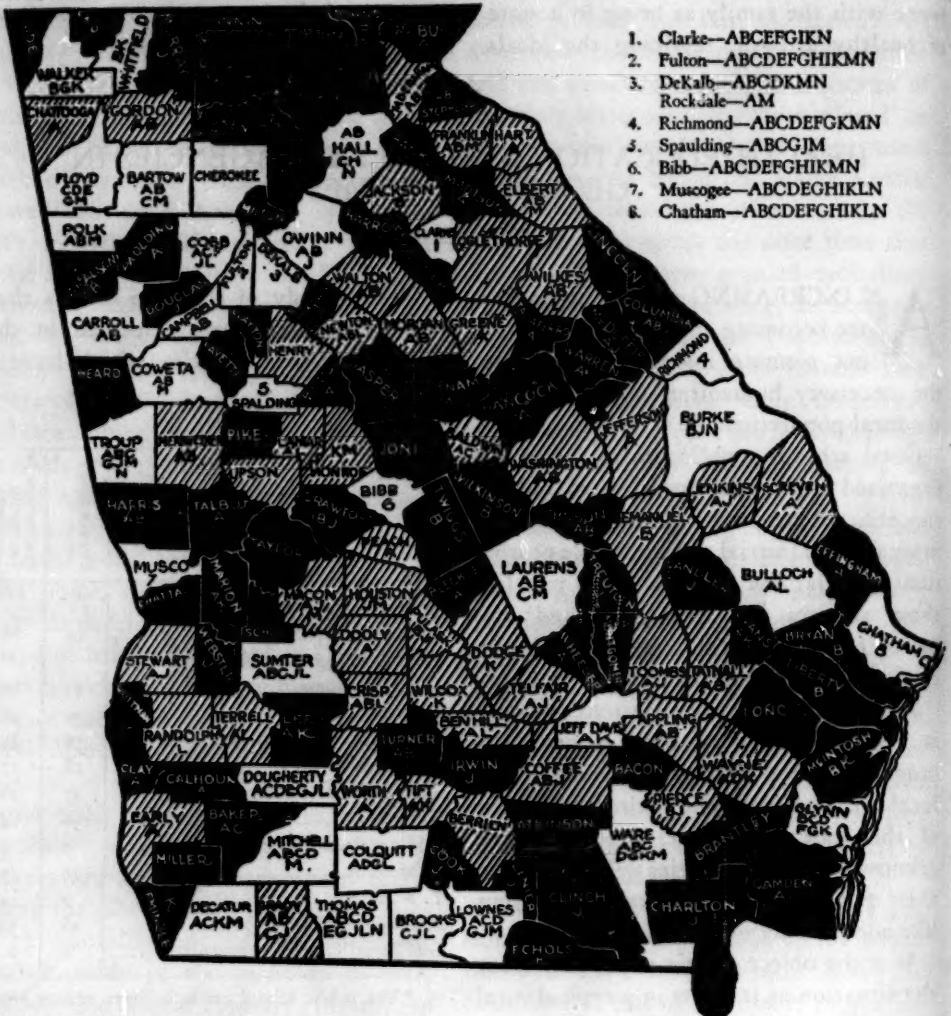
\* The public school exists in every county but is not effective when underfinanced. If judged on the same basis the other services would not make as good showing but we have no exact method of measuring the number of potential beneficiaries of the other services and hence cannot figure the per-beneficiary expenditure.

tax valuation of seven million dollars or more. (See Table II.) It will be seen that of the 128 weak counties with tax valuation of less than seven million dollars



only fourteen are spending as much as C. A., Y. W. C. A., Girl Scout or Camp \$20 per pupil on schools, only three have Fire executive. Nineteen per cent of them

Prepared by State Council of Social Agencies,  
March, 1927.



BLACK—tax valuation under 4 million (80 counties)

////—tax valuation 4 to 6 million (48 counties)

WHITE—tax valuation over 6 million (33 counties)

A—Farm Agent

B—Home Demonstration Agent

C—Health Officer

D—Social Worker

E—Y. M. C. A.

F—Y. W. C. A.

G—Salvation Army

H—Recreation Worker

I—Tuberculosis Nurse

J—Among 80 Best Schools Systems (expendi per pupil)

K—Among 20 best Schools

L—County Wide Library

M—City Library

N—Red Cross

public health officers, only one a social worker, fourteen have librarians, and not one has a public recreation system, Y. M.

are served by both farm agent and home demonstration agent; forty-nine per cent by farm agent, and 29 per cent by home

demonstration agent. Seven Boy Scout executives reach 31 counties through district councils in which groups of counties are combined.

*Progress is slow.* Progress during recent years has been extremely slow and is evidenced almost entirely in the rich counties. Extension of farm and home demonstration, conceded to be the most important service for a rural county, is finding it impossible to get a foothold in the

nurses. The Smith Lever fund gives the same amount to every county, \$1200 toward the employment of a farm agent, without taking into consideration the size of the population to be served, nor the financial ability of the county. The Shepard Towner maternity and infancy fund must be matched dollar for dollar. All of it has gone into richer counties. In fact a recent investigation disclosed that while thousands of dollars are being given as subsidies for local public health work in the South, not one penny of it goes to finance a full time local health unit in a county of less than 7 million tax valuation. Subsidies that must be matched dollar for dollar make little contribution toward the attainment of our goal,—a high standard of service for every citizen of the commonwealth. Even when the fund is distributed about equally to weak and strong counties alike, the weak counties are not helped enough to bring their services up to any comparison with the stronger ones.

The greater ease with which these services may be perfected in the rich counties is in itself an obstruction to future progress in reaching the poorer counties with adequate service. As the limit of the tax burden is approached in the rich counties their ability and willingness to assist the poor counties or to share their privileges is curtailed. Witness the utter selfishness of the municipal school systems which provide adequate school facilities for the children of the city out of taxes levied on the more valuable city property while the rural children within the same county must be educated with taxes levied upon rural property of low value.

State organizations by encouraging huge expenditures by the rich counties upon themselves are forgetting their objective. In Georgia half the wealth of the state is in ten counties while three fourths of the population is in the other 151 counties.

TABLE II

| TYPE OF LOCAL SERVICE                              | 33 RICH COUNTIES |                   | 128 WEAK COUNTIES |                   |
|--|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | Number with      | Per cent of total | Number with       | Per cent of total |
| Spend \$20 or more per pupil on schools.....       | 11               | 33                | 14                | 11                |
| White farm agent and home demonstration agent..... | 19               | 58                | 14                | 19                |
| White farm agent.....                              | 28               | 85                | 62                | 49                |
| White home demonstration agent.....                | 19               | 58                | 37                | 29                |
| Public health worker.....                          | 25               | 76                | 3                 | 2.4               |
| Social welfare worker.....                         | 16               | 48                | 1                 | 0.8               |
| Librarian.....                                     | 24               | 73                | 14                | 11                |
| Public recreation system.....                      | 5                | 15                | 0                 | 0                 |
| Y. M. C. A.....                                    | 14               | 42                | 0                 | 0                 |
| Y. W. C. A.....                                    | 7                | 21                | 0                 | 0                 |
| Boy Scout executive.....                           | 17               | 51                | 31                | 24                |
| Girl Scout, Camp Fire executive.                   | 1                | 3                 | 0                 | 0                 |

43 counties with less than two million tax valuation.

When access is gained in one of these weaker counties, the workers are so poorly paid that supplying personnel is extremely difficult, changes are frequent, and the service is often discredited or abandoned because of the inefficiency of the underpaid worker.

*Effect of federal subsidies.* Federal subsidies have been available to stimulate the employment of farm agents and home demonstration agents and public health

When the ten counties have been taxed to the limit to provide services for themselves how can they help their poverty stricken neighbors?

*Equalization principle is sound.* The idea of equalization was introduced in Georgia in 1926 for the first time, when the state equalization law for education was passed. The same principle might be applied to the distribution of state funds for other purposes. It proposes to measure the *need for the service against the ability of the local unit to pay*, and make up the difference from state funds.

But how are we to measure the need for the service? How measure the local unit's ability to pay? These are the fundamental questions which must be answered before any equitable plan for the distribution of a state equalization fund can be formulated. Let us examine them separately.

#### MEASURING THE NEED

Two factors must be considered in measuring the need for a local service, be it education, public health, social service, recreation or any other humanitarian activity: the personnel necessary for the local unit and the size of the territory and the population which can be most effectively served.

Undoubtedly some Georgia counties are too small both in territory and population. Thirty-four of them have less than ten thousand inhabitants, while the populations of the thirty-four largest counties range from twenty thousand to a quarter million. It seems the height of folly to have blindly adopted the county as the local unit under these circumstances. Note some of the results:

*In education.* A rich county has a superintendent of schools paid \$7500, a business manager, supervisors of elementary and secondary education, physical education, visual education, music and

art, an attendance department, and many other valuable administrative facilities. A small rural county has a superintendent of schools paid \$2000, and not a single assistant, not even a stenographer. The first supervises a staff of 1900 teachers, while the second has only forty teachers. The first talks to his teachers every morning over the radio. The second drives an old car over mountain roads and sees his teachers once a month. The first has a tax value of \$8000, back of each child while the second has only \$500 to tax for each child's education.

*In public health.* A rich county has a public health department with a health officer and an assistant, a group of sanitary inspectors, maternity and infancy nurses, tuberculosis nurses, school nurses, dental, venereal, and other special and general clinics, as well as elaborate hospital facilities. A rural county has a poorly paid public health officer, with no assistants, no inspectors, no nurses, no clinics, no hospital facilities, who has to buy his own gasoline.

*In social work.* A rich county has a well financed social service department, with a trained executive, several case work supervisors, district case workers, and access to a well organized juvenile court, a legal aid society, a children's bureau, a mental hygiene clinic, children's institutions, day nurseries, an employment bureau, emergency homes for men and women, etc. The rural county has a lone social worker, her Ford, and the volunteer helpers she can enlist and train.

*State vs. local staff.* Before the essential personnel for the local unit can be agreed upon there must be agreement as to the division of services between local and state staffs. Today there is too much duplication,—state and local dairy inspectors, bacteriological laboratories, child welfare case workers, institutions,

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etc. On the other hand state organizations assume supervisory tasks for rural services with such inadequate staffs that supervision is entirely futile. One supervisor for elementary schools for forty rural counties is hardly a gesture. Much of the necessity for employing local supervisors or specialists might be eliminated if the supervising staff of the state organization were large enough to render these services.

This lack of chart and compass, failure to look ahead and conceive a plan big enough to reach the entire population of the state is heading toward confusion.

*Plan is needed.* The people of the state are entitled to know what it will cost them to employ an adequate state staff and competent local units to provide these essential services. Too much of our effort is discredited because it is not projected on a large enough scale to actually demonstrate its possibilities.

When we talk about equalizing education, health, social service, recreation, or anything else, holding out the promise that to every man will be given service according to his need, to be paid for by every man according to his ability, we should be prepared to measure that need and the cost of meeting it as scientifically and accurately as possible.

The principle of equalization holds tremendous potentialities. If properly applied it will usher in the greatest experiment in coöperative living yet known to civilization. But if we bungle it the reaction to competitive individualism, will destroy all our democratic ideals.

*Research required.* Upper and lower limits of population and territory and minimum staff requirements can be determined for each of the important humanitarian services. It will require far more research and experiment than has yet been applied to the question. It

would undoubtedly lead to some plan of redistricting the state, or of grouping some counties together for administrative purposes. Such a plan should come as the result of mature study and collaboration among the agencies. The plan should be state wide as any haphazard districting is very apt to pocket some counties which then could not be included in any district, and will preempt tax funds for use in rich districts which should be distributed on a state wide equalization plan. If at all practical the essential services should agree upon some joint plan which would be more apt to win support and hold up against disintegration. However, research might discover that the administration unit most effective for education, for example, would not do at all for social work or public health. Whatever the plan it "should be effected by statute or a vote of the people as a voluntary association leads a precarious existence."<sup>1</sup> Several attempts at combining counties under a voluntary plan have failed in Georgia.

Fortunately the National Education association and the American Public Health association are tackling this problem, as evidenced by their bulletins. However, we know of no state which has even taken the first steps toward arriving at a comprehensive plan. Equalization in education is being applied to the old unequal political units. Public health is still tinkering with dollar for dollar subsidies. Social work has no plan. Recreation is confined to the cities.

#### MEASURING THE LOCAL UNITS ABILITY TO PAY

When we have determined with some accuracy the essential personnel of the state and local staff, the limits of population and territory of the local unit, and the

<sup>1</sup> Joseph M. Mountain, American Health Congress, Atlantic City, May, 1926.

cost of both state and local service, we will still face the necessity of measuring the financial ability of the local unit to pay its share of the cost before we can project a plan for the distribution of state funds to equalize local services.

The present expenditure of tax funds by the existing political units within the adopted administrative unit must be studied intensively. What is government costing? What are the tax funds buying? What are reasonable expenditures for roads, courts, police, and other public officials, which must be met out of the tax levy? Until we have established some standards for measuring these expenses we cannot figure the ability of the local unit to pay for education, health, social service, or recreation. There is a vast field for research here that should challenge some great foundation.

#### CONCLUSION

Pending the time when standards are developed, if state organizations seriously hope to carry these humanitarian services to all the people it would seem reasonable that they should not encourage extraordinary expenditures in the rich counties, that they expend state and national funds only in the very poorest counties, and that they concentrate their educational propaganda upon the citizenship in the poor rural counties.

There is no danger that the rural county will over-exert itself. The more it is brought to realize its financial inability to buy essential services, and to appreciate the privileges which the aristocracy in the rich counties enjoys, the surer it will be to exercise its political power when the right plan is presented to the legislature.

Meantime the rich counties should be warned of the dangers they face, the problems they are piling up for themselves as they encourage the drift toward popu-

lous centers, and the consequent depreciation in rural land and human values. A rich and efficient hinterland, essential to the stability of the industrial center, can never be developed until the rich counties turn their attention to the establishment of a standard of living in the country which can compete with that of the city.

And there is need that the state organizations agree upon some equitable division of the available state and county funds among their essential services. In Georgia the first state agency to get a foothold in a rural county usually is jealous of another's effort to get in. The farm agent sees no necessity for the health officer, the social worker, or the recreation worker. One county, under an enthusiastic educator, will spend every available penny on consolidated schools, and nothing on prevention of malaria and hookworm, or eradication of dependency and delinquency.

The state departments scramble for state funds with no effort to attain a proper balance. Education gets millions, health not even \$100,000, social service only \$35,000 and recreation not a cent from the state treasury.

Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect these specialists to appreciate competitive activities until a comprehensive plan is developed that will do justice to them all. There is need for a neutral organization,—concerned only with community organization, which will assist community leaders to see their humanitarian needs as a whole, and to differentiate between the appeals of the different state organizations.

This neutral organization, assisting the rural counties in such achievements as are possible under the conditions, should develop the material and the technique for projecting a plan of carrying the needed humanitarian services to all the people of the state.

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## SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF RURAL SOCIAL WORK

HAROLD J. MATTHEWS

CASE work in rural counties and small towns is comparatively new and we have not been able to tell just what difference there is in doing case work in a rural section and in an urban community. Can the same case work methods be employed in one as in the other? Could a case worker who has always been on duty in a city come to a rural neighborhood and work without making very definite changes in her methods?

The object of family case work is the same everywhere, we will grant; i.e., to help people out of trouble. The general philosophy will probably be applicable in both sections; but methods may be different. The application of case work methods may be different, too. A rural case worker must have a knowledge of certain things which would not be expected of a city worker. It is not always necessary that a county worker be reared in the county if she has the ability to adapt herself and see these differences that probably exist.

*The general practitioner.* A worker in a large city goes about her work more as a small part of a large social service machine. A county worker is usually the whole machine herself. The city worker does not have to worry so much about finances of the organization for which she works, for example; she has less contact with the officials of the city government, she may bother her mind little about the relationship of the city government and her organization or her case load. These things are done for her. Her chief makes most of these contacts and there is a special person or organization to attend to the financial problems. There are special agencies doing preventive work. The city worker, in other words, is more

of a specialist, while the county worker is a general practitioner. She comes pretty near having to do everything. She must take her clients through all stages of their treatment. She must give attention to finances and preventive work. She must have daily conferences with the Mayor and the Chief of Police and the County Commissioners and the school people and doctors and lawyers and civic organizations and churches.

*The lone worker.* The average rural social worker is usually the only such person in her county. She may go for weeks without seeing another worker. This isolation makes it necessary that the worker be alert to keep from falling into a rut, to keep from lagging behind the general development of social work. She does not have the advantages of frequent conferences with social workers, she has no supervisor with more training and experience than herself to go to for help and counsel. She cannot compare notes with anyone easily. In order to overcome these obstacles the worker should at least take the *Family* and the *Survey* and buy or borrow a couple of books a month and read, read, read. She should constantly read and refer to *Social Diagnosis* and other reliable books on case work. She should visit neighboring workers as much as possible. She should certainly attend the State Conference on Social Work every year, and any other conferences when possible and take an active part in the discussions. As often as possible she should invite or take advantage of the visits of State or National workers and have her records and work reviewed. She has free use of the mails to write other workers on any problem bothering her and ask for advice and suggestions.

A lone worker is liable to fall into the



habit of not consulting or properly using local assistance, or going to only one person who is not so busy and talking things over a little. Nothing will make a worker more stilted and will do more to make her "sour" on the job and divorce her from the community, even though she may be doing very good work with her clients. A lively "case committee" will do a lot toward helping to make the work interesting and efficient and help her to develop in the profession. It will do a great deal toward making her see her mistakes and stimulate new thoughts on old problems. Besides a committee, there are always intelligent individuals one can consult and discuss matters, with surprisingly helpful results.

A county welfare worker should take the time to stop and think about her work, size it up in her own mind and wonder if she is getting anywhere. Look at the theory of her whole job, as well as individual cases, and see how it "stacks up." Is she on the right track, generally speaking, or is she lost completely in minute details and only struggling with a maze of petty things, which get her nowhere and cause nervous breakdowns. A worker who says she does not have time to do this, does not have time to keep records, does not have time to read, does not have time to go to conferences, does not have time to be a county welfare worker, should get another job or get married.

*Knowing one's community.* "If it is a good thing for a city case worker to know her own community, I find it is essential for the rural worker," says Miss Josephine Brown of the American Association for Organizing Family Service, who was very successful as a rural worker (*Family*, p. 187, viii, no. 8). The rural worker must understand every working phase of her county. She must know

the political structure, she must know something of all the organizations and churches and occupations of the people and markets. She must be acquainted with the social make-up, the historical background of the county and even of its prominent families. She must appreciate and have a sympathetic understanding of farm life. The worker who is able to talk shop with the farmer has a great deal to her advantage. She certainly should know the common problems of the farmer and his wife.

*The small community.* A small community or rural county is intensely personal in its make-up and attitudes. We have to be careful not to hurt its feelings in our efforts to better conditions and call its attention to bad conditions which it may have never known to exist before. Those who have always lived in rural sections usually adhere to this without realizing it; a case worker coming from the city may not realize that she must be slow, careful and tactful in these matters. The appeal must be made on the basis of pride with no apparent attempt to *make them* do anything. They have gotten along so far without you and they can possibly continue to do so, they think. The worker has to be careful not to impose her skill. She will have to wait for an invitation here while she demonstrates her work there. She will have to learn how to make flexible her technique and work for a positive and common good with common people. She will have to respect the county's customs in social problems and not try to change them too soon. If the county has been handling its almshouse or its "pauper list" a certain way for fifty years, it has naturally come to think of that as being the accepted way and will look with interrogations on any sudden attempt of the new person to change it all. Such changes will have

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to be brought about by patient demonstration and friendly contacts.

*Agency relationships.* If you are the only experienced and full-time worker in a county you will have to give some time, and a good deal of thought, to agency relationships. You will have to keep peace and harmony among volunteer agencies, the churches, the clubs, etc., who are all interested in social work. You will have to show them how you can help them in their "charity work," what they can do, what they should refer to you. You will have to operate a social exchange, without actually having a social exchange. It will have to be on a much more personal basis. One county worker told me of her troubles with the ministers of the town. Every minister wanted to help, but she had to constantly be on the alert not to pay too much attention to any one church, give one more to do than any other, hold more than one meeting in succession at one church, etc. This is an especially important point, for a rural case worker will be called on to do more than she can really take care of, so she must develop her volunteer workers to help her to do many important things, and the better she is able to make pleasant contacts and efficiently develop and educate her groups, the more successful she will be.

*Discouraging board members.* This brings us to another similar problem in connection with boards and committees. A certain problem will be brought up for discussion or you will seek advice from a lawyer, doctor, or business man and get this reaction: "Old Bill Jones, of course I know him! You're surely not going to try to do anything with him, are you? He's no account and never will be. You are wasting your time. All his kids are just like him. I gave him work one time and he wouldn't stick to it,"

or, "My wife gave the old lady some clean bed clothes one time and she sold them. I certainly would not waste my time with them." A committee with a new case will often work hard for a proper adjustment and let the easier case slide, as impossible of solution, just because they have known the people and do not consider them hopeful. It is more prevalent in rural districts because most people know each other.

*Volunteer service.* For a single worker in a county, or where there are not sufficient workers to do the work they are called upon to do, an efficient system of volunteer service is necessary if the work is accomplished. A lone county worker cannot reach every community and neighborhood every time she is called there. It will likely, if she has developed her work properly, be impossible for her even to do all the case work she will be requested to do. A county worker has broad territory to cover, she has long, lonely trips to make across country over unimproved roads, she must take advantage of getting people to help her.

One county welfare worker went to each community in the county and organized a "Welfare Committee" and outlined as their duties a few simple things to begin with; they were to make some follow-up reports on cases opened and make follow-up visits for the worker. In simple cases they were frequently given the entire responsibility. They usually took (or secured someone) the entire responsibility of looking after pension cases to see that the money was properly spent and watch after the person generally. If a case was getting along all right and the county worker let it alone for a while, she could detail the "Welfare Committee" to visit the family or person in question and report any "need" which might take place.

By the above means a host of details and worry is removed from the worker. If an emergency breaks in a distant community and needs the attention within an hour or so and the worker finds it impossible to get there the same day the "Welfare Committee" is there to call over the telephone and ask to visit and give food or send for a physician.

There are various ways in which a system of volunteer service can be worked out. The need is apparent. A worker who sits down on the job and says she can get no one to help in her work does not know human nature. She has not comprehended how eager people are to do those things and to realize they are a part of a real program for public welfare. It can be done, not in a day to be sure, but it can be done.

*Resources in rural county.* Lack of evident resources in a rural county is one of the apparent differences in doing case work in a city. Many counties do not even have a hospital where a worker can have clients treated or examined. In some out-of-the-way sections of the county there will be no physician to visit families. She will sometimes have to see her client put up with an untrained midwife with no physician's advice whatsoever. There will be many communities, or all of them, without any organized or supervised recreation. This makes it all the more necessary to work closely with the community and those who make natural contacts with the families and to make a very careful study of the client and his possibilities. To go deeply and intelligently into a difficult case may reveal resources for solution never dreamed of by a superficial study.

*Finances.* In the matter of finances we will say little: a county worker should never have to actually raise money for her work. Her Board should worry about

such matters. It is the worker's duty to supply data and general information to them to help them in an advisory capacity, but to never actually do the work herself and there is something wrong if she is giving her time to raising money.

*Preventive work.* In the matter of preventive work or doing special community jobs which lie outside of the realm of case work, the county worker has many temptations. She will be called upon "to help get a Y. M. C. A.," or "to help clean up a certain part of the town," "to get a milk ordinance passed," and many other similar matters of vital importance. She is compelled to give some time and thought to these, much more so than a city worker, but she will have to be constantly on her guard not to give too much time away from her case work, which after all is the real object of her job. She should not be expected to help out in any such undertaking. The general community should take the responsibility of such matters, because it is logically theirs and because of the moral good it will do them. Furthermore, such tasks are too frequently unsuccessful unless the larger group does realize its responsibility. The more nearly that a community task of this nature touches case work, the more, possibly, a worker should give of her time; at any rate the more valuable she will be to the group most interested. It is impossible and not at all right for a county welfare worker to divorce herself from such community or county-wide activities, but there are ways for her to give assistance without sacrificing her case work. It is certainly her task to call to the attention of logical groups certain conditions which must be looked into and cleared up.

*Difference in family problems.* The rural worker may find that she has many different family problems which city

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workers do not have. There is the Negro tenant farmer, the poor white tenant farmer, the anaemic, over-worked, mentally deficient woman with pellagra and too many children and too little money to spend. The city worker will have cases like the latter but her clients will not have the responsibility of all the chickens, a couple of cows, some of the field work, etc., nor have to pick cotton all the day and cook for her family after dark, as well as attend to other chores. There are child marriages. There are families with a long line of degenerate, feeble-minded, whiskey-making, chicken-stealing, "crackers," with no desire whatsoever to attain a higher standard of living. There are the common law marriages. There are children living great distances from school. There is the problem of the poor family feeding its children one article of food, day in and day out for months, until the farm produces something else. The rural worker must consider the boll-weevil, the Texas flea, the tobacco worm, the droughts, the corn blast, etc., in her case work.

It is necessary that she consider and appreciate the religion, the customs, the habits, the background, the prejudices of each and every person and group she works with. I knew of one worker who used a diseased man's belief in a fake "faith healer" to get him to go to a specialist. Not once did she get irritated with him for his superstition or distrust in a genuine doctor.

One rural worker drove me out to see some people and as we passed a farm she told me of three women on that farm living in separate houses, who worked for the owner, a broad-shouldered, hairy-faced widower. Each woman had two or three children by this man and was intimidated to the extent of protecting him

and continually living on the farm to work for him in abject poverty.

There is the problem of the aged Negro couple whose children have all gone to Detroit and cannot be located or made to realize their responsibility.

*The farmer.* If we remember that the farmer, regardless of how poor or ignorant he may be, has a managerial psychology, we will get along with him much better. He is used to being his own "boss," managing his own affairs, and caring for his own family and problems. The writer while doing county work a few years ago had a man from the country who had moved to the county seat, to come in and ask for permission to put his boy to work rather than in school. After talking the matter over and looking into it a bit, it was clearly seen that he could easily keep his boy in school, so the permission was not granted. As he left the office he said: "Well I think I will go back to the country where I can manage my own children." Recently a volunteer worker told an interesting story of her attempt to help a needy family in the country. She gathered up some clothing, food and things and drove out to see them and tactfully presented her "charity." They received her cordially and accepted the things with thanks and promptly filled her buggy with canned fruit, vegetables, etc. She went away with more than she gave and with a rather strange and undefinable feeling. We will have to remember then that these people are used to doing things for themselves and let our attitude be as strongly as possible to help them help themselves. If ever the worker needs to take the rôle of a friend and not as a "professional" social worker, it is among the farmer class.

*Getting information.* The rural people will possibly be more reluctant to give

information about themselves or another family than a city family. The worker will have to do more to win confidence and show a genuine interest to get what she wants. To be able to talk shop helps wonderfully. To understand their attitude toward life and outside interference also helps. One favorable thing is that a farmer can give more of his time than a wage earner in town. He does not have to punch a clock. He can stop his plow and talk for hours. Of course, no social worker should ever take notes while making a first interview, but matters of this kind are doubly serious in rural minds and nothing will arouse suspicion more.

*Budgeting a rural family.* The financial status of a rural family is more difficult to determine than a city family. Their income is often too helplessly intangible to put down in definite figures. The food and clothing does not come from one source, as in the city. Food from the garden, milk from their cows, eggs from their own hens, something is borrowed from a neighbor, a trade is made, quilts are made from scraps, a few things are bought. This makes it increasingly difficult to make out a budget for a family or to determine its resources. We again see the necessity of close and patient studies of our clients.

*Respecting clients.* The rural worker will have to be more careful not to expose her clients. Frequently people who have no legitimate interest in a case at all will know that the worker is helping an individual or family and will often think they have the liberty to stop and gossip about the matter. I believe a good many rural social workers are less careful about this than they may think. They do not realize how freely they discuss their clients with any and every one with whom they may chance to talk. This is a very

common sin among many volunteer workers, who either do not see the bad ethics of such a practice or the novelty of working on an interesting case gets the better of their judgment. The open discussion of cases should be only with one's case committee, and they will have to be educated to the fact that it is all confidential. The information about these people is very personal and we cannot afford, nor do we have the right, to betray the confidences of our unfortunate clients who have faith in us that we can help them through a thorough knowledge of their lives and thoughts. If a rural worker merely mentions that she had to send a delinquent girl to a certain place, or that she had a peculiar case of mental trouble to handle, the person will likely know who these people are and manage more details from the worker. The rural worker must maintain absolute silence regarding her cases; which I know is harder to do than for a city worker, whose associates are not prone to be so inquisitive; a city is less personal. If a county worker drives up to a county store where a group of hangers-on are and asks where the S— family lives, those present will all but follow her to the place to see what is going to happen. In cases like this considerable tact will have to be used. I remember asking an old storekeeper where two aged spinsters lived. When I drove back by he hailed me, filled with curiosity, and wanted to know what I was going to do with the Browns. Such personal interest can often be used to advantage, but one has to be very careful. Another time I asked a school girl going down the road with her books where a certain old lady lived and she replied, "Yes, sir, she lives right over there. She's my Grandma and what do you want with her?"

The rural worker has to be careful what she says over the telephone in the

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country, for the neighbors are likely listening in.

*Conclusion: opportunities.* There are many other things one might mention, such as, the problem of travel, but which we will not take the time to go into now. There is plenty of room for an ambitious rural case worker to make a real reputation for herself, to say nothing of rendering a wonderful service to the profession by developing the technique of county welfare work. There has not even been a successful attempt at working out the problems of record keeping, etc. I might here add that one of the greatest sins of the rural case worker, which she is more guilty of than the city worker, is that she does not keep as good records. Too many times do we find them with only copies of letters and a few ragged notes, if anything at all. This is not fair to the profession and the development of the work in rural sections, to say nothing of being unfair

to the client and the next case worker who comes along. It is bad business to say the least.

We must develop a loyalty among rural social workers if we do good work, keep records, study the job and not accept the first offer made by a city organization. The job of a county worker is a challenging one. She has more opportunities for real service, for personal development, for contributing something definite to the knowledge and literature of case work than a worker in a large city.

These few problems only go to show us how necessary it is for a county welfare worker to be alert, to be well trained, to be sincere, to be a hard worker, to be fitted for her job, to constantly read and study. We see that it is a real profession for a real person. Social work is one of the most comprehensive things a county does and it should be placed in the hands of a competent person.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The first question to be asked of a nation, state, or city is: Of a thousand of your babies born alive, how many die within their first year? For infant mortality is the most sensitive index we possess of social welfare, culture, and prosperity, as George E. Vincent points out in the *North American Review* for June. "Saving the Babies" means dealing with food, flies, dust, and crowding; in a word, sanitation plus education. Statistics are both misleading and tricky, but our own ratio of 72 per thousand is discouragingly above the splendid 40 of New Zealand and the 49 of Norway, though about equal to the 75 of England.

With only 20 per cent of recent medical graduates going into general practice to take care of the 90 per cent of the sick who do not need a specialist's attention, "The Problem of Medical Service" in this country is becoming acute. Especially so in rural districts, for the average age of country doctors is now 52 years, and all but 1.4 per cent of graduates in the past ten years have settled in the cities. The causes of this scarcity, thinks William Allen Pusey in the June *American Mercury*, lie in our present high requirements for a physician's license, the excessive cost of medical training, the dwindling number of medical schools, and the dearth of ex-



perienced practitioners on their faculties. A simplifying, shortening, and cheapening of our medical courses—which can be done without damage to education—appears the best remedy.

It may now be assumed that the basis of most mental disease is a predisposition, inherited from one parent, modified by the mental condition and inheritance of the other parent and by environment. What is its relation to mental health? Certainly, insists A. F. Tredgold in the *Eugenics Review* for April, mental disease has nothing to do with genius, but it is closely allied to social incapacity. Its greatest damage is done, by diffusion, to future generations, for sterilization and segregation do not remove the present causes of germ impairment, nor can they prevent the apparently normal "carriers" of mental disease from producing defectives. Racial degeneracy will be stemmed only by a campaign of education that will promote national pride in the eugenic ideal.

A survey made by Paul Popenoe of "Eugenic Sterilization in California" since its inauguration in 1909 is reported in the *Journal of Social Hygiene* for May. In the state hospitals for the insane and feeble-minded more than 5000 operations have been performed on about 8 per cent of the first admissions. Three-fifths of the sterilized patients have been men; there appears to be no discrimination based on race or nationality; and many patients, sterilized for therapeutic rather than eugenic reasons, are permanent inmates of the hospitals. The operation is performed only on those whose psychoses depend on inheritance.

Parole for criminals was inaugurated on Norfolk Island about 1842, and later extended to Australia, Great Britain, and

this country. Back of it lie three distinct theories: that it is a reward for good conduct in prison; that it should be gauged to previous record, environment, the nature of the crime, and personal character; that it is a reforming process which acts for the safety of the public. Helen L. Witmer, after tracing at some length in the *Journal of Criminal Law* for May the history and philosophy of parole, argues that we do not know accurately how well it works, and will know only when the later life of all prison inmates can be followed in detail. . . . The following article contains an account by F. E. Haynes of the various institutions which undertake a scientific diagnosis of the individual delinquent.

"Learning for Living" is the goal of many newer educational theories and projects, half a dozen striking examples of which find place in the *Survey Graphic* for June. The famous Lichtwarkschule in Hamburg is described by Bruno Lasker, the new pre-professional school of the Ethical Culture Society by Herbert W. Smith, the apprenticeship plans and project methods of Whittier and Antioch colleges by Dean J. W. Coffin and R. W. Bruère, the experimental college at Wisconsin by its director Alexander Meiklejohn. The difficult task of guiding maladjusted high school pupils of normal mentality into paths of useful living, whether in school or out, is treated sympathetically by Agnes M. Conklin.

Social workers and sociologists have had little to do with each other. Yet there are several ways in which the case-work method can be used by the social scientist. Case-work records contain data showing how various physical, mental, and economic conditions affect personal relationships; they may also serve to

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identify and classify types of relationship between family members and neighbors; by furnishing a microscopic view of the processes of interaction or association they help to develop a laboratory technique. Here, says Stuart A. Queen in

the March *Journal of Applied Sociology*, is an undeveloped field of work. . . . From the viewpoint of the social worker Harold A. Phelps in the *Family* for June shows how case records can be adapted to the use of the scientific investigator.

### PUBLIC WELFARE IN GOVERNMENT

A recent two-day conference on public welfare in government was called by Dr. C. E. McCombs, of the National Institute of Public Administration, to consider problems of special research and work in the field of governmental responsibility for social work. The group invited included: Frank Bane, state commissioner of public welfare, Richmond, Virginia; Charles A. Beard, consultant to National Institute of Public Administration, New York City; Louis Brownlow, editor, *Current News Features*, Washington, District of Columbia; C. C. Carstens, director, Child Welfare League of America, New York City; Richard K. Conant, state commissioner of public welfare, Boston, Massachusetts; John L. Gillin, professor of sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; Charles W. Hoffman, judge, Juvenile Domestic Relations Court, Cincinnati, Ohio; Charles H. Johnson, secretary, State Board of Charities, Albany, New York; Robert W. Kelso, Boston Council of Social Agencies, Boston, Massachusetts; Howard R. Knight, secretary, National Conference of Social Work, Columbus, Ohio; Porter Lee, director, New York School of Social Work; R. E. Miles, director, the Ohio Institute, Columbus, Ohio; Howard W. Odum, director, School of Public Welfare, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; George J. Werner, commissioner of public welfare, Westchester County, New York; Sydnor Walker, Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, New York City; and Beardsley Ruml, director, Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, New York City. A report of this committee will be available later.

## THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by LeRoy E. Bowman, 403 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

### THE CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE POLISH GROUP IN THE CITY OF BUFFALO: AN EXPERIMENT IN THE TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL INVESTIGATION<sup>1</sup>

NILES CARPENTER WITH DANIEL KATZ

IN DISCUSSING the desirability of applying the methods of exact science to social research, a recent writer has said, "Did not William Thompson (Lord Kelvin) say that Knowledge resulted from measurement more than anything else, and that the end of science was to find, by numbers, what relations were established between phenomena? In effect, do not measurements have this cardinal virtue, that they eliminate, *ipso facto*, all errors arising from our feelings, from our own poor qualities as observers, and from the fragile nature of our testimony? . . . Measuring apparatus are without preconceived ideas. Our lack of objectivity and the difficulty we experience in disregarding the personal factor as represented by ourselves, when dealing with Man, have caused a considerable slowing-down in the progress of Anthropology."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This study was carried on with the aid of funds provided by the Committee on Ethnic Factors in Community Life, of Brown University, to whom acknowledgment is made for permission to publish the data in this paper, presented before the National Community Center Association meeting in conjunction with the section on community of the American Sociological Society, at St. Louis, December 29, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Pittard, E. *Race and History*. (Volume V in the "L'Evolution de l'Humanite" series.) English Translation, New York, 1926, p. 34.

With the substitution of the single word "Sociology" for "Anthropology," this passage could be taken as a peculiarly apt statement of the prevailing spirit among workers in the field of sociology. In common with other social scientists, they have been striving to give their researches some degree of the impersonality and accuracy that the physical sciences have long since enjoyed.

The sociologists have, however, labored under especial difficulties. Unlike the psychologists, they are generally unable to pursue their investigations in the laboratory, and unlike the economists, their data do not generally occur all ready to hand in statistical units, such as dollars, tons, bushels, or kilowatt-hours. Excepting in the field of demography or vital statistics, which provides an abundance of statistical material, the sociologist has made relatively little headway in the direction that he would like to go. For the data of sociology consist largely of such topics as customs, habits, attitudes, and the organization of activity, which have been thought to be outside the realm of the statistical method.

This study has been undertaken largely with the idea of determining how far these sociological imponderables were sub-



ject to objective and quantitative treatment. The subject chosen for this investigation is the cultural adjustment of the Polish group in the city of Buffalo, which contains one of the largest and longest established Polish communities in the country. Two types of schedules were employed, a family schedule and an individual schedule, the latter being used for each individual over twelve years of age available for interviewing. The schedules were filled out by a number of young Polish-American women—teachers and social workers—who visited the families and individuals included in the study. Ordinarily it took the field worker one to two evenings to complete a family schedule and the personal schedules attached to it.

Limitations in the time and funds available for the study permitted the obtaining of only a relatively small number of schedules—twenty-six family schedules, and sixty-four individual schedules. Consequently, whatever generalizations concerning the cultural adjustment of the Polish group are made presented on the basis of these schedules, must be accepted with the greatest amount of reserve, in fact, the interpretation of the data gathered is considered only an incident of the study.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The family schedule was intended to secure the specific facts which would be most significant in showing where the family stood on the scale of change from Polish to American standards and usages. It was concerned with four major problems: The personnel of the household, the home situation, the economic status of the family, and the health situation. It covered the personnel of the household as to relationship, age, place of birth, date of migration, and marital condition. It in-

quired into the home situation from the point of view of type of house, ownership, number of rooms, household conveniences and equipment. It asked for information as to the pictures, religious images, books, and magazines observed in the home. The economic status of the family was brought out by questions on the wages of those gainfully employed and on the income from such other sources as lodgers and property. Insurance and savings were also included under the items relating to economic status, while the percentage apportionment of the family income for various items was inquired into. Questions on the health situation sought to reveal the source and frequency of medical and dental advice as well as the degree of utilization of the services of trained nurses. Under this head were included questions concerning the circumstances attending the birth of the first and last child.

The personal schedule took up the following: (1) education, (2) language assimilation, (3) community activities, (4) citizenship, (5) cultural activities, (6) recreation, (7) traditions and legends, (8) customs, (9) attitudes, (10) aspirations, and (11) opinions on America and "Americanization." Under education an attempt was made to find out the amount of schooling of the individual, both as to years spent in school, grade reached, and the kind of school attended. In addition, attendance at evening school and subjects there studied were ascertained. Language assimilation covered the proportion of English and Polish spoken, read, and written by the person interviewed.

Community activities included a variety of interests. Chief among them was a detailed inquiry into religious activities which are an important feature in Polish life. Also under community activities was included information concerning the mem-

bership and participation in nationalistic societies, trade unions, and other organizations. Citizenship was covered by questions on naturalization, voting activity, and party affiliation. Under cultural activities were taken up attendance at lectures and concerts, frequency of use of the public library, best liked Polish and English books, and newspapers and magazines most frequently read.

The questions on recreation were intended to bring out the type of recreation habitually engaged in, such as dances, movies, theatres, cabarets, "soft drinkeries," parties, and ball games. Also, an effort was made to determine the most frequently used places for these recreations, whether home, neighborhood, or "uptown."

The section on traditions and legends was planned in order to obtain some quantitative expression of the subject's knowledge of the respective tradition of Poland and America and in this way to find out how far immigrant Poles and Poles of the first and second generation have moved, in respect to this feature of cultural life, from Polish to American patterns. The interviewer in every case sought to find out how much the subject knew about seven specific Polish legends and six corresponding American traditions. The degree of the subject's knowledge was indicated by a check opposite the specific question in one of three columns headed: "complete," "vague," "none." The questions on customs dealt with seven typical Polish customs.

The attitudes on such questions as prohibition, race feeling, authority of husband over wife, authority of parents over minor and adult children and preferability of public over parochial schools were taken up in the section on attitudes. A positive statement was prepared for each

topic and columns provided in which the interviewer could check the degree of the subject's approval or disapproval of the statement. Thus a "plus two" indicated hearty approval and a "minus two" strong disapproval. The aspirations of the individual were directly asked for as well as the vocations and educations planned for the children. Finally, opinions on America and "Americanization" were inquired into. Questions were propounded as to the most desirable and most undesirable features of life in America. The individual was also questioned as to whether he considered himself American or Polish and what "Americanization" meant to him.

It should be noted that throughout both types of schedule a minimum of actual writing is called for. Most of the questions are answered by simple check marks or at the most by a phrase or two. The obvious reason for such a technique is the making of the study as objective as possible and the obtaining of data in such a form as to lend itself to numerical statement and comparison.

In general, a surprising degree of success was achieved in obtaining complete schedules. There were two important fields, however in which detailed information was very difficult to obtain. These related first to the health, income, and other particulars concerning the financial status of the families concerned and second, to the religious attitudes and behavior of the individuals interviewed. Such a high degree of tension and resistance was generated by the questions in these two fields that it is doubtful whether it would be worth while to undertake them in another investigation. It is quite likely that a part at least of the information desired could be obtained by indirection in other portions of the inter-

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views, in fact as shown later, this was accomplished to some degree in the case of religious attitudes.

Of the many possible topics that might be developed in some detail, two only have been selected for this paper. One is the material in the family schedule having to do with health habits, the other is the material on the personal schedule having to do with traditions and attitudes.

#### ECONOMIC STATUS AND HEALTH HABITS

The data concerning the general home situation of the families studied reveal a rather high economic status, e.g., seventeen of the twenty-six families own their own homes; twelve owned automobiles and every one of them was carrying some life insurance. Again, all of the twenty-six homes were lighted by electricity; twenty-five had electric irons; sixteen, vacuum cleaners; and fifteen, electric washing machines; while only five were without ice-boxes. That is, they seem to have come quite well up to American standards in economic prosperity and in providing themselves with the external material of family life. On the other hand, when it comes to some of the less tangible elements of family life, such as health habits, it is found that these Polish families were quite far away from American standards. Thus, in only five of the twenty-six families a physician's advice is sought as a matter of general hygiene and precaution. On the contrary, in nine of the twenty-six families his services are sought only in the case of emergencies or alarming illness. More startling yet are the facts regarding the birth of children. Out of 44 children born in these families 23 have been delivered by a midwife. In not a single case has the child been born in a hospital. In no less than eight cases, that is, in about a third, the mother was in the habit of

working right up to the time of her confinement.

It would be interesting to speculate upon this evidence of lag or retardation in cultural adjustment in the matter of health. Undoubtedly, a great deal of it is due to the atmosphere of taboo, superstition and traditionalism attaching to sickness, and especially to childbirth among all people. Something must also be said for the fact that through the mechanisms of press advertisements, store window displays, installment payment plans, and the like, the average immigrant family is probably brought much more effectively into touch with the external materials of American home life than with such less tangible culture traits as health habits. That is to say, as American society is at present organized, it is much less assiduous in introducing the immigrant to the knowledge, facilities, and attitudes by which to keep himself alive than it is in inducing him to secure at "\$5.00 down and \$1.00 a week," a brass bed and a felt mattress on which to die.

#### DUAL TRADITIONALISM; CUSTOM OBSERVANCE

The material yielded by the personal schedules on traditions and attitudes suggests some interesting conclusions concerning the processes by which the mental habits of an immigrant group become adjusted to those of the American population. Reference may be had first to the data on tradition. First as to the degree of knowledge of typical Polish and American traditions for the foreign born, the native born of foreign parentage, and the native born of mixed native and foreign parentage respectively. It happened that none of the individuals covered in this study was native born of two native parents. Those counted as native born of native parents are more accurately



described as native born of mixed native and foreign parentage. It is probable that they represent matings of second generation Polish with Polish immigrants and so are in a sense third generation, or better perhaps "second and a half generation."

There was evidence of gradually decreasing knowledge of Polish traditions and gradually increasing knowledge of

American legends and traditions is much more than the loss of Polish traditions and legends, and whereas, after three generations, the Polish-Americans in this group show a very respectable knowledge of American traditions and legends, they show only slightly less knowledge of Polish traditions and legends. This circumstance suggests the fact that culture traits are much more easily acquired than

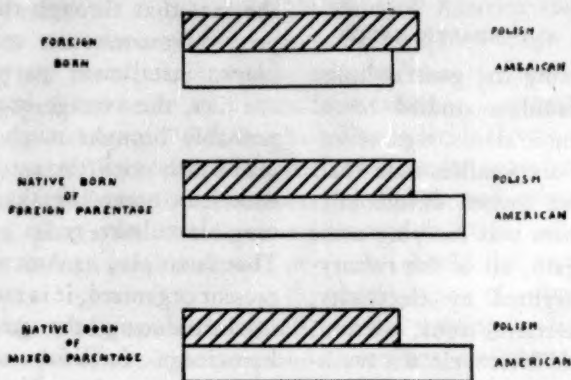


CHART I

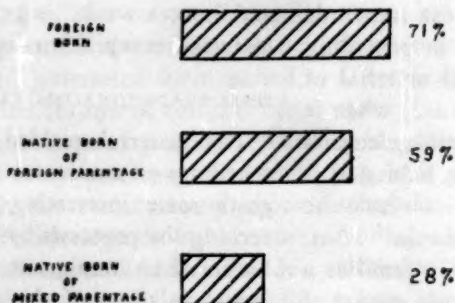


CHART II

American traditions. Thus, out of a possible 100, the foreign-born Poles make a score of 87 for Polish traditions and legends, as against 72 for American; whereas the native born of mixed native and foreign parentage have an average score of 72 for Polish traditions and legends, as against 99 for American. However, there is not so much loss of knowledge of Polish traditions and legends as one would expect, that is, the gain in knowledge of

they are dropped. It also suggests the fact that certain immigrant groups are maintaining a kind of cultural dualism. In other words, they are quite satisfactorily "Americanized" so far as this term connotes familiarity with American traditions and history, but they are not correspondingly "de-Polandized."

The material relating to the degree of observance of a number of distinctively Polish customs likewise shows significant

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differences from generation to generation. Whereas the foreign born have an average score of 5 out of a possible 7 for custom observance, the native born of foreign parents have a score of 59 and the native born of mixed native and foreign parentage have a score of 28.

It may be worth observing that there seems to be a more rapid movement away from typically Polish culture patterns in respect to custom observance than there was in respect to tradition, for while the range of scores in knowledge of tradition

field of the thing he actually does, and later in the field of the things he remembers and thinks about.

The next set of material refers altogether to questions of sentiments and ideas—more specifically, attitudes. Reference will be made first to certain attitudes shown by the group as a whole and next to the variations produced by age and generation differences in regard to one of the attitudes. Seventy refer to the degree of like or dislike towards the Negro: it is surprising to note that this group

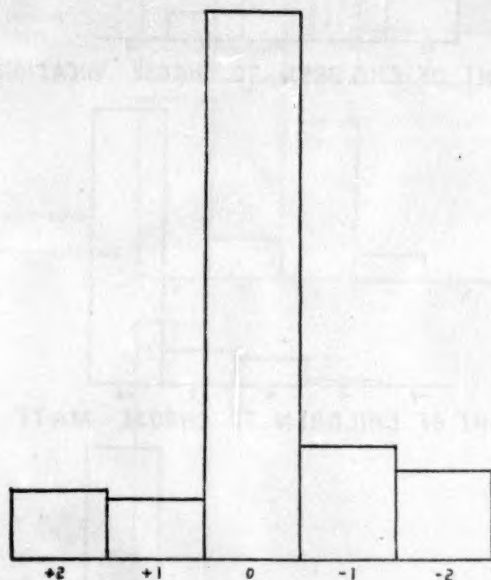


CHART III

was only from 87 to 72, the range in this case is from 71 to 28. The social psychologist might explain this difference as due to the distinction between ideas and sentiments on the one hand, and behavior on the other. That is, it may be that in its actual social behavior this immigrant group is moving away from its tradition norms somewhat more rapidly than in its rationalized knowledge and devotion to these norms. In other words, the group member begins to break away from his Polish inheritance, first in the

shows only a mild degree of disapproval of the Negro. The bulk of its members express indifference towards him. It would seem that this absence of strong race feeling so far as the Negro is concerned is significant. It is certainly in contrast to the results which would be sure to follow the putting of similar questions to a typically American group. It suggests the inference that so-called race feeling in this country is much more a product of tensions and quasi-psychoses born of our own national experience than

of any factors inherent in the relations of race to race, as such.

CHANGE IN ATTITUDE TOWARD PARENTAL  
AUTHORITY AND PREFERENCE FOR  
PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A chart made for the study registers the degree of approval or disapproval ex-

of mate are among the more important considerations involved in the authority of the parent over his child. The graphs are, however, very dissimilar. That pertaining to the authority of the parent over the adult child shows a very marked concentration in the direction of strong approval, the original data showing

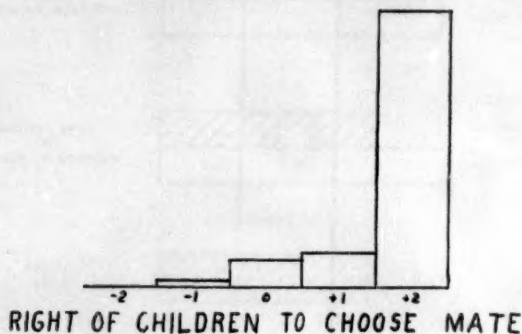
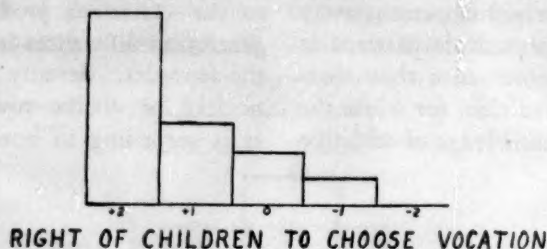


CHART IV

pressed towards three related questions: (1) the authority of the parent over the adult child, (2) the right of the child to choose his own vocation, (3) the right of the child to choose his own mate. If this group were showing complete logical consistency, the graphs would be generally similar, for choice of vocation and choice

thirty-three individuals registering strong approval, fourteen registering mild approval, nine registering indifference, four registering mild disapproval, and none registering strong disapproval. When however it comes to actualizing this highly revered parental authority in terms of the determination of certain of the

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more momentous decisions in the lives of their children, the situation is quite the reverse. There is even stronger disapproval of parental control over the child's choice of his own vocation or his own mate than there was approval of parental authority in the abstract. Out of sixty-four individuals, forty-nine expressed strong approval of the child's right to choose his vocation, six mild approval, five indif-

of parental authority to maintain a wholesome degree of reverence for such authority *in the abstract*, but when brought face to face with the significance of such authority in the life decisions of the young people concerned, adherence to it breaks down, and the group moves over to a strong degree of approval of a typically American set of attitudes, that is, the giving to the child of the virtual freedom

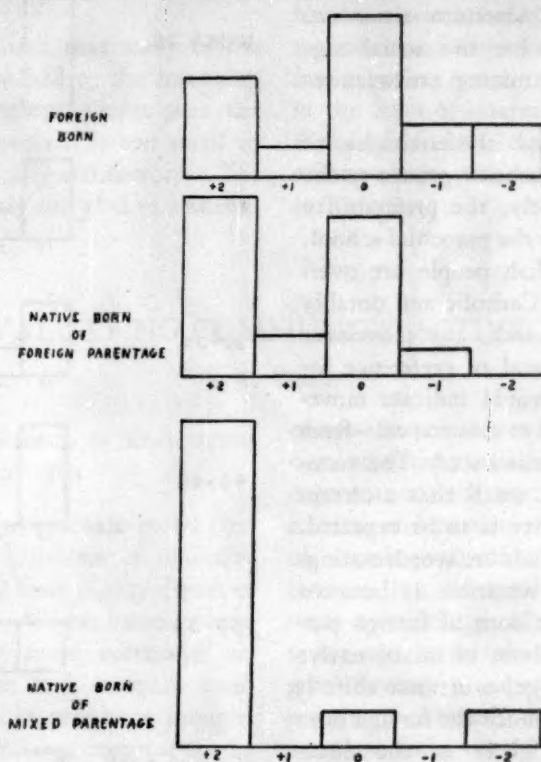


CHART V

ference, one mild disapproval, and none strong disapproval. The corresponding figures for the right to choose one's own mate were forty-five, three, ten, two and zero.

Inconsistent is this group, but the inconsistency is understandable and sociologically interesting. This group retains enough of its traditional old-world inheritance of a highly developed degree

of choice in these respects. Something like the same contrast noted above between the maintaining of ideas and sentiments on the one hand and of actual behavior habits on the other hand is to be observed here. The old norms are clung to so long as they have no specific import for concrete social situations. When, however, their significance in terms of actual decisions are realized, they are

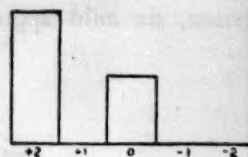
promptly abandoned for attitudes more in consonance with the behavior situation of the general population. It is not likely that this group has gone through anything like the degree of conscious, rational, explanation which has been undertaken here. Rather, it is more likely that two groups of mental sets are involved, one embodying a carry-over of the old-world tradition, one embodying adjustment to the American situation. However this may be, the social significance of the contrasting attitudes remains the same.

Other charts show the attitudes of different age and generation groups to the same question, namely, the preferability of public school over the parochial school. In so far as the Polish people are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic and notably devoted to their church, any movement away from disapproval of preference for the public school would indicate movement away—at least in this respect—from a typically Polish mind-set.<sup>3</sup> The numbers involved are so small that a certain amount of eccentricity is to be expected. Only the general trends are worth noting.

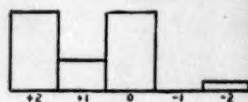
Looking at the situation as between foreign born, native born of foreign parentage, and native born of mixed native and foreign parentage, a distinct shift is apparent. The graph for the foreign born is skewed very slightly in the direction of approval of the proposition that public schools are preferable to parochial schools; that for the native born of foreign parentage is skewed a little more in this

direction, while that for native born of mixed native and foreign parentage is skewed decidedly in its favor. Graphs referring to the age group show a similar progression, the older people expressing a clear preponderance of opinion in favor of the parochial school, the younger groups, especially the youngest, express-

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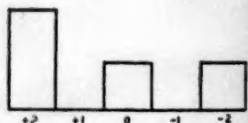
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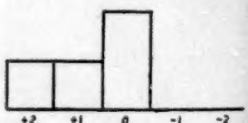
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40-49



50-59



60 AND OVER

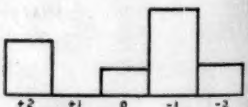


CHART VI

ing a preference for the public schools over the parochial schools.

These results should not be interpreted as betokening a general breaking away from the church as such. The insistence shown by every age and generation group to all questions concerning religious behavior suggests that there is about the

<sup>3</sup> It is to be observed that the question did not call merely for the approval or disapproval of public schools, but for approval or disapproval to the proposition that the public schools are preferable to the parochial schools. In this form the question involves a much greater degree of departure from the group loyalties than the more mild form would have done.

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same type of feeling toward the church in one group as in another. What the results do suggest, however, is a modification of attitude at a point where the church's activities tie into the community at large. This modification is very noticeable and is in the direction of movement toward accommodation to the norms of the American community, from generation to generation and from age group to age group.

It is freely admitted that many of the generalizations attached to the foregoing data are open to the criticism that the number of cases involved is too small to make them statistically satisfactory. The writer would be only too glad to abandon

them in the face of other data on the same topics, based upon a larger number of cases. Indeed, he would be more than happy if this paper should serve to stimulate similar studies in other places, for his chief aim in presenting this paper has been to attempt a demonstration of the practicability of carrying into the fields of household economy, family structure, standards of expenditure, family relations, habits, customs, beliefs, and opinions, the techniques of objective and quantitative investigation and to suggest the rewards in the form of interesting and significant sociological data that await upon the efforts of anyone desiring to undertake such studies.

## EVALUATING COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

M. C. ELMER

### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EVALUATING TECHNIQUE

THE attempt to evaluate social conditions and activities in objective terms is not a mere flighty dream of the present decade. We are however witnessing apparently more successful attempts to evaluate and compare community activities than was once thought possible. This is in large part due to the fact that the various techniques necessary are rapidly being standardized. Just as the development of the internal combustion engine was dependent upon the perfection and standardization of numerous technical processes in a score of more or less related fields, and upon the careful experimentation of hundreds of scientists; so the standardization and development of a methodology which will enable sociologists to measure and compare social activities, depends upon the development

of specific techniques in history, psychology, statistics, social work, community organization, the various fields of social science, and particularly within the field of sociology itself. The sociologist is continually confronted by the need of an exact terminology whenever he attempts to measure social phenomena with a degree of accuracy and clearness which will permit of comparison between the phenomenon under consideration and a given standard, or with some other apparently similar phenomenon. Wm. Petty (1623-1685) was a pioneer in this field and one of the first to insist on a more exact terminology. He desired to express everything, which represented a degree or quantity, in numbers, weight or measurement. In his "Political Arithmetick," he criticized the use of terms such as larger, much larger, many, more, less, and similar terms. He attempted to eliminate individual opinions and individual



bias and establish the use of *objective standards*.

John Peter Süssmilch (1707-1767) believed that it was possible to establish certain broad principles regarding moral conduct and community activities by the use of statistical data.<sup>1</sup> He believed that by properly adjusting our lives and manner of living, the death rate might be reduced and the average duration of life could be increased. He did not accomplish his primary objective of standardizing a measure of human conduct. This was not possible because of the same difficulties that confront us, lack of a comprehensive technique,—but he did succeed in attracting attention to the value of quantitative data in establishing principles relating to a study of activities.

Adolphe Quetelet (1796-1874) applied the mathematical methods of averages and probabilities to the study of social phenomena and developed many practical methods for the comparison of data, which we still find of value in making social investigations. He likewise recognized that such social activities which may be determined statistically must be taken in relation to environment and that these environmental conditions may be modified with a consequent modification in the activity concerned. This is, of course a basic factor to be recognized in the evaluation and comparison of community activities.

The above are some of the early outstanding attempts to measure and compare social activities objectively. While little was actually accomplished, nevertheless certain basic principles were recognized which had a bearing upon our present problem, even as Franklin's recognition of the conductivity of electricity has a

bearing upon present day complicated electrical engineering. About the middle of the 19th century we see the beginnings of numerous attempts in various fields to develop more accurate bases for generalization. In biology, physics, chemistry, medicine, anthropology, economics, ethnology and sociology, great strides were made during the last half of the nineteenth century. Scholars were attempting to get down to bed rock regarding the structure of society. Local problems directed the attention of some toward the solution of the cause of some local irritation. Others observing that these problems were more or less common, sought a general formula which might explain all group activities and their interrelationship. Fortunately each individual feels that he has found the magic key to the explanation of social processes, and hence he follows it with such enthusiasm that he pounds the single grain of truth out from the mass of chaff, and those following may add it to the sum total of human knowledge without repeating all of his useless efforts.

#### THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE SOCIAL SURVEY

The first and possibly greatest gesture by sociologists to analyze community activities was by means of the social survey. It is likewise one of the few techniques in social investigation that has been quite generally standardized and its limitations recognized. There are some few who object to its use but chiefly because it necessitates field investigation and much routine work. An extensive and intensive study may not bring forth any thrilling front-page story. It may merely indicate that a pet idea of the investigator has apparently no foundation. Of the hundreds of attempts to make social surveys very few have done more than help standardize the technique, meet some localized situation, and help create an

<sup>1</sup> "Göttliche Ordnung in den Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechts aus der Geburt, dem Tode und der Fortpflanzung derselben bewiesen."

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interest in coöperative effort among a small group of people. If only the first of these had been done, however, it was all worth while, because that is a *basic step in the evaluation of community activities*.

In a published article, I summarized the present status of the Social Survey, somewhat as follows:<sup>2</sup>

1. The impartial and unbiased approach to a problem is now recognized as necessary if the results obtained are to be of value.

2. There is quite general agreement as to the kind of sociological data which can be enumerated, classified, and compared.

3. The technique of collecting and classifying this measurable data has been quite generally standardized.

4. The social investigator and surveyor and the social theorist are in closest accord, thus aiding and keeping each other from going too far afield.

5. The social survey has been generally accepted as the scientific method to be followed for securing reliable data, and for studying community activities. In other words, the "group case method" must be used in studying group activities.

6. We are now at the very beginning of development in the field of social investigation. We have learned the value and the method of using the most simple tools. We can now proceed to work out methods of analysis of social phenomena in a scientific manner, although thus far very little has been done in the scientific interpretation of sociological data.

7. The next step is the standardization of methods of correlating the data obtained from a study of social phenomena, in order to show not only the totals of more or less unassociated facts, but their comparative value, and the part played in group activity by certain measurable factors.

The object of a social survey<sup>3</sup> should be not merely to gather all the facts pertaining to the social life of a community, but rather to correlate these facts and to make progress toward an understanding of the underlying causes by which they are molded, and their effect upon each other. It should disclose facts, their interrelation and bearing and the forces within the social group under consideration, which determine and condition its activities. It is impossible to study adequately any one phase of community life, without giving due weight to all the interrelated activities.

There is a general recognition among sociologists of the necessity for making haste slowly, and of the danger of obscuring the entire vista by too minute and exact studies. However, that does not warrant all of our work to be dreamy generalizations and imaginings. Giddings stated the case rather tersely when he said, "The present tendency is to loaf and generalize. We need men not afraid to work; who will get busy with the adding machine and the logarithms and give us exact studies, such as we get from the psychological laboratories, not to speak of the biological and physical laboratories. Sociology can be made an exact quantitative science if we can get *industrious* men interested in it."<sup>4</sup>

#### EVALUATING

A comprehensive survey of the community is the necessary first step in making a more intensive analysis of evaluation of any particular phase of the social activities. Since the social processes are a resultant of all the conditioning and problem phenomena, in order to make a scientific study, it is necessary to do the rather tedious and exacting preparatory survey

<sup>2</sup> Elmer, M. C. *Social Surveys of Urban Communities*. 1914, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Am. Jour. Soc.*, Vol. XV, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Applied Sociology*, March, 1923.

work. It is painful for many people not to jump at conclusions before all the work is done, and there is a great temptation to make sweeping generalizations on the strength of a few isolated cases. The chief problem of sociology as of any field of inquiry which attempts to be scientific is causal explanation. We must recognize that fact and attempt to meet it. Hence a definite part of our task is to measure and evaluate community activities. The basis for the evaluation of any problem phenomena should be the degree to which the activity under consideration influences the members of the community in the promotion, the stabilizing and efficient functioning of the attitudes, ideals, ideas and practices of the group within the scope of the problem under consideration. A social activity or the problem phenomena in its psychic aspect cannot be measured in exact terms. However, the conditioning phenomena not only serve to explain the activity objectively but also the physical acts prompted by these psychic activities, and to evaluate them and to indicate their rise or fall in intensity. A plot of ground is not a social phenomenon but its size and other qualities may influence or condition the activities of the family living upon it. The family activities will be materially different if one plot is a small patch of land near a large city and suitable only for raising onions and the other is a great wheat farm in the Red River Valley of North Dakota. The land is a conditioning phenomenon. The activities of the family are problem phenomena. The activities in their psychic aspect cannot be measured directly by themselves, but their nature and trend may be measured in terms of the overt physical activity in which they find expression and by the results produced. "It is only when results of social activities carried on in relation to measurable conditions are compared with

results of social activities carried on in relation to other measurable conditions that we are able to draw conclusions concerning the tendencies of social phenomena."<sup>5</sup> In brief we can measure the social activities themselves. Not in their psychic aspect as they exist for the consciousness of the actors, but in their overt aspect as forms of conduct. We can determine measurable correlations between social activities in their overt aspect and conditions influencing them, and the resultant phenomena.

For the past five years we have been attempting to develop a technique for the practical application of the principle we have stated namely, evaluating community activities, on the basis of the conditioning factors, the overt acts in which they find expression, and the effect and practice of the groups. Social surveys have consisted chiefly in a bare enumeration of specific facts, and the calculation of the degree of correlation of separate sets of facts. This is a valuable and necessary part, but it constitutes only the first step in the evaluation of the activities of a community. Without the survey, the evaluation cannot be made, but without a measure of the functioning of the group activities, the kernel of the sociological analysis has not been reached.

#### METHODS USED IN ONE EXPERIMENT

In order to carry on an experiment in the natural sciences it is necessary to obtain as nearly as possible pure chemicals, or a stabilized variety or species. Hence in order to test our method of evaluating community activities we found, as nearly as possible, stabilized, and homogeneous

<sup>5</sup> Elmer, M. C. *Social Statistics*, 1914, Ch. II, p. 25.

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communities. Our experimentation was carried on in five different communities, which were quite isolated, with a very minimum of contact with the outside world, or with other communities. The reason for doing this was to reduce to a minimum factors and elements which would complicate our study, since our problem was developing a method for measuring community activities which could be applied anywhere and consequently needed to be as simple as possible, in its basic principles. The communities selected were within themselves composed of a population which was relatively homogeneous with regard to nationality, ancestry, religion, economic interests and status, education and recreational activities. All of these communities had been settled between 1850 and 1860, hence they were all old enough to be uniformly established. One community was of English descent, one North German (Lutheran), one South German (Catholic) one French-Canadian, and one largely Americans from New York, Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio. The last named community contained several conditioning factors with regard to national background, but otherwise was as uniform as any of the other communities.

The particular community activities selected for the basis of these studies were the following: Religious Activities, Educational Activities, Economic Activities, and Recreational Activities. These were selected because they are basic, and may reasonably be expected in any community. Now these various aspects were not studied in isolation. As was stated above, every activity is the resultant of all the conditioning and problem phenomena within the group, or, as Professor Thomas stated it: "The cause of a social phenomenon or individual phenomenon is never another social or individual phenomenon alone,

but always a combination of a social and an individual phenomenon." Consequently the attempt to evaluate each of these community activities was made by taking it in its relationship to all the conditions and activities in the community.

In the first place, it was necessary to have thorough knowledge of the history and background of each community. This was obtained by extensive research into historical material. Newspaper files were carefully gone over, going back in the case of these communities for sixty years. Records in the state historical society were consulted and extensive interviews held with old settlers. The record books of churches were studied, old grange societies, in one case going back to 1853, and whatever organizations were found to exist. Case history studies of outstanding individuals were made, including individuals who have attained national prominence because of laudable achievement, as well as persons whose career culminated in a penal institution. This was done to help locate factors in the community which played definite rôles in the social processes.

The formal agencies which existed as definite factors in the particular activities were intensively studied, and the special technique made use of, which specialists in the particular fields have devised. Schools, churches, clubs, coöperative societies, banks and similar agencies were studied carefully. For example, the big creameries did not merely give us the names of their patrons, but turned over the books from their very beginning, so that the rise and fall in the number of patrons could be studied, the growth and decline of dairying activities of each farmer, the efforts, by big centralized cream products organizations to eliminate the coöperative, the rise and decline of the

potato industry, and other forces influencing the economic activities of the community.

A very careful house to house visitation was made—not the rushing visit with a list of “yes” and “no” questions, but, an actual interview. In some cases three or four visits were made to a place. The people were interested. They knew, through talks made at the various meetings that an effort was being made to devise a method for measuring the various activities of the community. There was some hesitancy in one French-Canadian and one German Community, but their confidence was gained by careful selection of interviewers, who understood their language and religion, and by first gaining the confidence of leaders in the community such as the priests, bankers, leading farmers and other key people.

The question has frequently been asked, did not the study have any effect in changing the conditions and the functioning of the community activities. I can only say I believe it has, but having been in this work for the past fifteen years, and having read so many reports made by people who should have been writers of fiction or poets rather than scientists, I hesitate to say that I have ever participated in changing anything.

An attempt was made to determine the social attitude regarding the various objectives of the community activities, toward leadership in the community, the basis or source of ideas, ideals, attitudes and practices, and the factors determining social distance. In short, in order to secure the data, and to analyze the community activities it is necessary to make a thorough study of the historical background; of the changes in attitudes and of social distance; a careful, intensive study of the social agencies, and all of the detailed work connected with the making of a comprehensive social survey of the social

conditions and activities in the community. The evaluation of the community activities cannot be made without this rather complete preliminary work. That is why many people say it cannot be done, notwithstanding the tremendous amount of time and effort being expended on work which is so slipshod, that in chemistry it would not pass as worthy of a freshman class.

Where our field work is completed, we may begin the task of definitely evaluating the community activities. Each activity must be evaluated from different angles taking into consideration various factors. The *first* factor to be considered is the community in general, including the basic equipment of the activity under consideration. This can be given a specific valuation or score, based upon the accepted standards for the particular item under consideration. The *second* factor consists of the organization and activities of the agency which forms the special mechanism of the activity. The membership, number of meetings, character and extent of performance, does not measure the community activity, although that is the type of data usually taken as a measure of its status. However it does constitute the second factor, and gives us the bulk of the data found in statistical studies. The *third* factor consists of the *functioning of the activity and the reaction upon the community*. This is the real sociological evaluation. While it is more difficult, it can be measured objectively and evaluated for comparison with other similar activities. As was stated above, activities can be measured objectively. “Not in their psychic aspect as they exist in the minds of the actors, but in their overt aspects, as forms of conduct.” These are the resultant phenomena and take their form in a definite, measurable change in the ideas, ideals, attitudes and practices of the group under consideration.

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## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

"The Rural Mind"—what is it really like? The type persists, owing to the intermarriage of land-minded individuals who are steady, unambitious, and crave security. On the farms there is a happier and better organized family life than in the cities; the producer rather than the consumer is respected; the distinction between capital and labor breaks down. The farmer is largely independent of other men, knows the joys of ownership, and his direct contact and partnership with nature have affected his character strongly. Social activities in rural communities, suggests William C. Smith in the *American Journal of Sociology* for March, can be successful only if the mental attitudes of the people are understood.

Let us, demands a woman writing with anonymous frankness in *Harper's* for June, get down to the fundamentals of feminism, which are physical. The sexes are not equal in dignity, ability, or power. Childbearing is a humiliating experience, for which neither love nor children themselves can be depended on to atone; nature has given freedom to carry on the world's work to the man, who has by long training learned to use it best; and final authority within the household must inevitably belong also to him. And since woman is thus assigned a passive and subservient part in life, she should seek to perfect that rôle rather than to assume an unnatural and impossible one. This must be the answer to feminism of the normal intelligent woman who is neither bewildered, resentful, nor sentimental.

"Marriage," from half a dozen of the thousand angles that reflect our views of it today, fills the pages of the *World*

*Tomorrow* for June. Hornell and Ella Hart offer seven vivid thumb-nail sketches of conflict in unsuccessful matings. Frederick Harris writes of the elements that make up full self-realization and happiness for both parties of the contract. The training in serenity, tolerance, humor, and self-reliance that an intelligent home can give boys and girls as a preparation for married life is discussed by Ernest and Gladys Groves; and the economic problems of marriage are treated by Emilie J. Hutchinson. Finally, Earle E. Eubank asks, without definitely answering, the two questions: by what authority should marriage be broken, and on what grounds?

Cleavage of opinion on birth control is persistent and forceful. In the *Forum* for May, June, and July two able articles present each side of the case. Prof. Edward M. East and Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy claim that its use is justified because it brings about the health of mother and child, the happiness of married life, the relief of overpopulation, race improvement, and prevention of poverty. But basing their arguments solely on health and happiness, Dr. Halliday Sutherland and Father John A. Ryan hold that contraception is contrary to the laws of nature, physiologically harmful, and will be the cause of racial deterioration.

"Twenty Years of City Planning" and the effects on it of commission government, are summarized by John Nolen in the *National Municipal Review* for June. There are now 157 planned cities in 33 states, and 460 zoned cities in 38 states. . . . Maricmont, a residential garden village near Cincinnati for people of moderate means, is described in the May num-



ber by Bleecker Marquette. Except for careful planning and the limitation of a six per cent dividend on money invested it has been a normal real estate development. . . . Planning as carried on in the Philadelphia tri-state district and in West-

chester County, New York, is described in the *American City* for May and June by R. V. N. Black and W. D. Heydecker; while Walter Burr in the latter issue explains the project method of work by a typical community council.



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## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SOME PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO POPULATION<sup>1</sup>

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

THE American Negro population is ordinarily thought and spoken of as comprising two rather distinct classes, the Mulatto and the pure Negro. The former is envisaged, in most discussions, as the result of much mixture and hence greatly heterogeneous, but as numerically much smaller than the pure Negroes, whom, indeed, the last Census of the United States indicated as comprising 85 per cent of the total Negro population.<sup>2</sup>

Recent studies, based on a group composed mainly of students of Howard University<sup>3</sup> have convinced me that, contrary to the general belief, the American Negro population represents much more mixture than is generally thought. In spite of the tremendous amount of crossing my data indicate, the Negroes seem to constitute a relatively homogeneous group, the physical characteristics of which are being more definitely established with succeeding generations of inbreeding

among themselves. It further seems that the type which is forming represents a blend of the ancestral types from which it has sprung, one which lies about midway between these ancestral strains in such traits as have been measured.

Homogeneity such as this population exhibits will seem much more reasonable if a distinguishable social selective process can be distinguished. For, considering the amount of mixture between African Negroes, Caucasians, and American Indians represented in the American Negro sample I studied, a high degree of variability would be expected in the light of hypotheses which the geneticists have advanced. Nothing of the kind is observable in this population, however, the comparative variabilities for the traits measured being generally speaking low. Furthermore, I have been able to segregate the social selective process which accounts for the amalgamation of these different physical types into the homogeneous population which is resulting from the crosses.<sup>4</sup> The invidious distinction accorded those Negroes of non-Negroid physical appearance, particularly those of

<sup>1</sup> A paper presented before the National Academy of Sciences at Philadelphia, Pa., November 8, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Bureau of Census, 14th Census of the United States, Washington, 2, 1920, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> These studies were made under a Fellowship of the Board of the Biological Sciences, National Research Council. A special grant was made by the Committee on Human Migrations, National Research Council, for the work at Howard University.

<sup>4</sup> Herskovits, M. J., *Am. J. Phys. Anthropology*, Washington, 9, 1926, 87-97; *Current History*, New York, 24, 1926, 898-902; *American Naturalist*, 61, 1927, 66-81.

slight pigmentation, makes for selection of light women by the darker-colored men.<sup>5</sup> This, with a striking lessening of the amount of primary crossing between whites and pure Negroes, and between whites and mixed-bloods, makes for inbreeding which is producing this American Negro type.

These conclusions have been drawn, however, from this sample composed mainly of University students. I felt this series to represent the total Negro population of the country adequately, both because the birth-places of those composing it include all the states of the Union where Negroes are found in any appreciable numbers, and also because of the statistical identity of this series with the much larger one measured during the recent war by Davenport and Love.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, this University population might well be the result of some selective factor not apparent without comparative material, and, because of this, the conclusions based on it might be doubtful to the extent to which this were true. Therefore, measurements on a much larger sample of the Negro population have been taken.<sup>7</sup> This larger series comprises, besides the earlier Howard University group, two series measured independently among the general Harlem Negro population of New York City, a fourth series composed of

well-to-do and professional Negroes selected from among the Harlem population, and, finally, a sedentary, rural population from West Virginia.

Investigation of the extent to which findings based on the smaller Howard University series are valid may be obtained by two means,—in the first place, by seeing how the racial make-up of the entire series compares with that for the Howard group alone, and also how the several additional series which go to make up the total group compare in ancestral background and physical characteristics with the Howard series. Data of the former type were gathered from the adults who were measured by asking each individual for his genealogy. The uselessness of Negro genealogical material has often been advanced, but I have been able to demonstrate, through consideration of anthropometric measurements of the several genealogical classes into which the Howard series, or any group of American Negroes, may be divided, that such material is, statistically if not individually, perfectly usable to indicate how much crossing is represented in the Negro population.<sup>8</sup> Thus e.g., in such a trait as lip thickness, the group who claim to know of no mixture are practically identical with the averages for Africans, while those who gave genealogies such as to class them as more white than Negro were fairly near the white averages,—and so for other "key" traits, such as nose width, sitting height, and the like. Therefore, the entire sample considered in this paper has been classified in the same way as the Howard University series was classified, to see the extent to which the individual series, and the series

<sup>5</sup> Hershkovits, M. J., *Pub. Am. Sociological Soc.*, Chicago, 1926, 77-82; *Proceedings Nat. Acad. of Sciences*, 12, 1926, 587-593.

<sup>6</sup> Davenport, Charles B., and Love, Albert G. *The Medical Department of the United States in the World War. xv, Statistics, part 1, Army Anthropology.* Washington, 1921.

<sup>7</sup> The assistance which has made possible the gathering of this series, and also the opportunity to continue these researches and work up the data in hand I owe to grants made through the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University.

<sup>8</sup> Hershkovits, M. J., *Opportunity*, New York, 4, 1926, 306-310.

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as a whole, check with the Howard group. The classification which has been made is as follows:

- N, unmixed Negro
- N(I), Negro, mixed with Indian
- NNW, more Negro than White
- NNW(I), more Negro than White, with Indian
- NW, about the same amount of Negro and White
- NW(I), the same, with Indian mixture
- NWW, more White than Negro
- NWW(I), more White than Negro, with Indian

ces between the component parts of the entire series, the tables show a much greater degree of consistency than might be expected. The well-to-do Harlem group show larger percentages of individuals having white blood, but when the favorable position within the Negro community, as well as among the general white population, enjoyed by those who exhibit non-Negroid traits is considered,

TABLE I  
AMOUNT OF CROSSING REPRESENTED IN ADULT AMERICAN NEGRO POPULATIONS

| GENEALOGICAL CLASS |          | GENERAL<br>HARLEM<br>SERIES | SELECTED<br>HARLEM<br>SERIES | HOWARD<br>UNIVERSITY<br>SERIES | WEST<br>VIRGINIA<br>SERIES | TOTAL ADULT<br>NEGRO SERIES |
|--------------------|----------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| N.....             | Number   | 165                         | 14                           | 109                            | 54                         | 342                         |
|                    | Per cent | 28.5                        | 7.0                          | 20.3                           | 24.0                       | 22.0                        |
| N(I).....          | Number   | 31                          | 5                            | 36                             | 25                         | 97                          |
|                    | Per cent | 5.5                         | 2.5                          | 6.7                            | 11.0                       | 6.3                         |
| NNW.....           | Number   | 155                         | 36                           | 129                            | 64                         | 384                         |
|                    | Per cent | 26.5                        | 17.5                         | 23.8                           | 28.5                       | 24.8                        |
| NNW(I).....        | Number   | 37                          | 7                            | 51                             | 11                         | 106                         |
|                    | Per cent | 6.5                         | 3.5                          | 9.6                            | 5.0                        | 6.9                         |
| NW.....            | Number   | 78                          | 54                           | 95                             | 33                         | 260                         |
|                    | Per cent | 13.5                        | 26.0                         | 17.7                           | 15.0                       | 16.7                        |
| NW(I).....         | Number   | 34                          | 32                           | 57                             | 10                         | 133                         |
|                    | Per cent | 6.0                         | 15.5                         | 10.6                           | 4.5                        | 8.5                         |
| NWW.....           | Number   | 72                          | 42                           | 30                             | 11                         | 154                         |
|                    | Per cent | 12.0                        | 20.0                         | 5.6                            | 5.0                        | 9.3                         |
| NWW(I).....        | Number   | 11                          | 18                           | 31                             | 15                         | 75                          |
|                    | Per cent | 2.0                         | 8.0                          | 5.7                            | 7.0                        | 5.5                         |

Table I gives the number of cases, and the proportion each class contributes to the total, for the entire sample and for the several series composing it. In this table, the number of cases includes males and females, and in the case of the Harlem series, the results for the two series from there have been grouped together. It will be remarked that while there are differen-

this is not otherwise than might be expected. The percentages for the total series give food for thought. Thus we see, for example, that 22 per cent, and not 85 per cent of the total are full-blooded Negroes, while almost one-third of the adults measured have a strain of American Indian blood, a fact almost entirely overlooked, although a tendency among Ne-

goes to take pride in Indian ancestry may make this percentage larger than is actually the case.

There may next be considered the physical characteristics of the several series

ences of appreciable degree between Negroes born in this country and in the British West Indies? How does the urban Negro differ from the rural? And, from this, to what extent is there a selective factor

TABLE II  
MEANS AND VARIABILITIES FOR MIXED ADULT MALE NEGROES OF VARIOUS LOCALITIES AND PLACES OF BIRTH

| SERIES                    | CEPHALIC INDEX |       |           | LIP THICKNESS |       |           | WIDTH OF NOSE |      |            |
|---------------------------|----------------|-------|-----------|---------------|-------|-----------|---------------|------|------------|
|                           | N              | M     | $\sigma$  | N             | M     | $\sigma$  | N             | M    | $\sigma$   |
|                           |                |       |           |               | mm.   | mm.       |               | mm.  | mm.        |
| Howard University.....    | 539            | 77.05 | $\pm 3.5$ | 539           | 22.3  | $\pm 4.4$ | 539           | 41.0 | $\pm 3.8$  |
| Harlem I (U. S.).....     | 67             | 77.1  | $\pm 3.6$ | 67            | 20.8  | $\pm 5.5$ | 67            | 41.3 | $\pm 3.1$  |
| Harlem II (U. S.).....    | 46             | 76.7  | $\pm 3.7$ | 46            | 20.35 | $\pm 4.2$ | 46            | 41.5 | $\pm 4.2$  |
| Harlem I (B. W. I.).....  | 58             | 78.9  | $\pm 3.4$ | 58            | 22.4  | $\pm 4.8$ | 58            | 42.6 | $\pm 3.7$  |
| Harlem II (B. W. I.)..... | 58             | 78.1  | $\pm 3.4$ | 57            | 21.1  | $\pm 3.8$ | 58            | 41.9 | $\pm 3.75$ |
| Selected Harlem.....      | 106            | 76.2  | $\pm 2.7$ | 106           | 19.8  | $\pm 3.8$ | 106           | 37.5 | $\pm 3.9$  |
| West Virginia.....        | 92             | 74.8  | $\pm 3.3$ | 92            | 20.0  | $\pm 4.2$ | 92            | 41.5 | $\pm 3.1$  |

|                           | BIZYGOMATIC WIDTH |       |           | PIGMENTATION |            |             |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-------|-----------|--------------|------------|-------------|
|                           | N                 | M     | $\sigma$  | N            | M          | $\sigma$    |
|                           |                   | mm.   | mm.       |              | per cent N | per cent N  |
| Howard University.....    | 537               | 139.1 | $\pm 6.2$ | 534          | 66.4       | $\pm 13.85$ |
| Harlem I (U. S.).....     | 67                | 140.9 | $\pm 5.5$ | 65           | 66.2       | $\pm 13.4$  |
| Harlem II (U. S.).....    | 46                | 138.7 | $\pm 5.9$ | 40           | 73.1       | $\pm 14.7$  |
| Harlem I (B. W. I.).....  | 58                | 142.0 | $\pm 4.6$ | 58           | 71.6       | $\pm 11.85$ |
| Harlem II (B. W. I.)..... | 57                | 139.3 | $\pm 4.7$ | 52           | 79.5       | $\pm 12.0$  |
| Selected Harlem.....      | 104               | 137.7 | $\pm 6.1$ | 106          | 56.7       | $\pm 11.8$  |
| West Virginia.....        | 92                | 138.6 | $\pm 6.0$ | 88           | 73.7       | $\pm 10.8$  |

|                           | HEIGHT SITTING |      |            | STATURE |        |            |
|---------------------------|----------------|------|------------|---------|--------|------------|
|                           | N              | M    | $\sigma$   | N       | M      | $\sigma$   |
|                           |                | cm.  | cm.        |         | cm.    | cm.        |
| Howard University.....    | 475            | 88.2 | $\pm 3.2$  | 475     | 171.1  | $\pm 6.4$  |
| Harlem I (U. S.).....     | 65             | 87.4 | $\pm 3.5$  | 64      | 168.3  | $\pm 6.15$ |
| Harlem II (U. S.).....    | 47             | 86.1 | $\pm 2.6$  | 47      | 167.4  | $\pm 5.4$  |
| Harlem I (B. W. I.).....  | 56             | 87.3 | $\pm 3.3$  | 56      | 170.3  | $\pm 5.75$ |
| Harlem II (B. W. I.)..... | 58             | 86.6 | $\pm 3.7$  | 58      | 169.25 | $\pm 5.9$  |
| Selected Harlem.....      | 105            | 88.3 | $\pm 3.45$ | 106     | 173.7  | $\pm 5.8$  |
| West Virginia.....        | 91             | 86.3 | $\pm 3.85$ | 91      | 167.9  | $\pm 6.7$  |

which make up the present sample, although in this consideration only the adult males will be utilized. Certain problems present themselves for solution through such analysis. Are there differ-

present which draws any particular type to the city? Are well-to-do Negroes different from the general population of which they form a part? To what extent may a university group be regarded as

selected? size of country this res problem? America answers may be below.

Table ties for the series Seven Howard which th The Har posed ab in the U Islands, lated se series is as has be series re ulation.

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selected? How does well-being affect the size of Negroes,—what is the effect of country as against city environment in this respect? These are some of the problems pertinent to a study of the American Negro, and an indication of answers to the questions raised by them may be had in the data which are given below.

Table II gives the averages and variabilities for several of the traits measured for the series which comprise the total series. Seven of these are represented. The Howard University series is the one from which the earlier conclusions were drawn. The Harlem series were found to be composed almost equally of individuals born in the United States and in the Caribbean Islands, and these series have been tabulated separately. The selected Harlem series is composed of well-to-do Negroes, as has been stated, while the West Virginia series represents a rural, sedentary population.

If the data in Table II be considered trait for trait, certain differences between the various groups appear. There are no significant differences between the means for cephalic index, and the variabilities for this trait show a remarkable degree of consistency. The thinnest lips are those of the selected Harlem series, and this tends to substantiate the genealogical statements of this group as to the relatively large amount of white blood they represent. The Howard series, and the West Indian Negroes have the thickest lips, but these are not sufficiently different from the American-born Harlem and West Virginia series to be of significance. In nose width, all the series except that of the well-to-do Harlem Negroes have about the same average, the West Indians showing a slightly more Negroid tendency than the others. The selected Harlem men have the narrowest zygomatic arches,

again a consistent result, while the West Indians have the widest. In height sitting there are no significant differences. When stature is considered, we find that the well-to-do are by far the tallest of the several series, the shortest being those from West Virginia, although these do not differ largely from the residents of Harlem. The West Indian born are, however, somewhat taller than their fellow residents in Harlem born in the United States. The difference in no case is great, however.

Special consideration must be given to the pigmentation data. The method of quantitatively measuring darkness of skin has already been discussed<sup>9</sup> and it is sufficient to say here that the skin is measured by means of a color top, the figures given here being the percentage of the black segment on the surface of a top on which are disks of black, red, yellow and white. This is not a measure of pigmentation,—it is rather a method of quantitatively studying the comparative darkness of the skin. The red on the top is such that a constant error is present in it, since it contains a large percentage of black, and the resulting means given in the table are for the corrected black. There was a consistent difference between myself and my assistant who measured the Harlem II and the West Virginia series, and therefore these must be considered separately. In the first place, the West Indians of both series seem to be slightly darker than the corresponding American-born Negroes, though the difference is not a great one. The Howard University group are the same color as the Harlem population measured by me, and if we assume the identity of the Harlem I and II series, on the basis of similarity of all other traits then the West Virginia population is

<sup>9</sup> Hershkovits, M. J., *Am. J. Phys. Anthropology*, Washington, 9, 321-327.



identical in this trait with these other two. The selected series, on the other hand, is by far the lightest of all the groups, and this again tends to confirm the genealogical statements.

If we now consider the entire series, we have the averages and variabilities shown in Table III. It is impossible here to go into a consideration of the position of this series in a comparative table of means and variabilities for like traits in pure African, American Indian, and Caucasian populations. If such a table be con-

TABLE III  
MEANS AND VARIABILITIES FOR ADULT MALE NEGROES,  
COMBINED SERIES

| TRAIT                          | NUM-<br>BER | MEAN   | VARI-<br>ABILITY<br>( $\sigma$ ) |
|--------------------------------|-------------|--------|----------------------------------|
| Cephalic Index.....            | 966         | 77.04  | $\pm 3.42$                       |
| Lip Thickness (mm.).....       | 965         | 21.51  | $\pm 4.47$                       |
| Width of Nose (mm.).....       | 966         | 40.84  | $\pm 3.97$                       |
| Pigmentation (per cent N)..... | 763         | 65.39  | $\pm 13.95$                      |
| Bizygomatic Width (mm.).....   | 961         | 139.11 | $\pm 6.04$                       |
| Height Sitting (cm.).....      | 897         | 87.66  | $\pm 3.45$                       |
| Stature (cm.).....             | 897         | 170.55 | $\pm 6.47$                       |

structed, however, it will be found that these means are almost midway between the unmixed Africans, on the one hand, and the Caucasian and American Indian populations, on the other. The variability, also, presents an interesting phenomenon, since the increase which would be expected, and which was not found when the Howard University series was used as a criterion for the American Negro population, is also not found when this much larger and more representative sample was utilized. And it is this low variability which argues most strongly for the es-

tablishment of a definite homogeneous type, as has been already remarked.

We may conclude, therefore, on the basis of the data presented above:

1. That the hypotheses regarding the establishment of a definite physical type of American Negro advanced on the basis of the Howard University sample are confirmed by this larger sample of the American Negro population, both through examination of genealogies and of anthropometric data.

2. That within the type which is forming there are differences due to social selection such as might be expected, but that none of these is of a nature as to affect the character of the general population noted for the smaller Howard series.

3. That slight differences between the native-born and West Indian Negroes are to be noted, but not such as to make for a change in the American Negro type through mixture with these Negroes as they continue to come and to settle in this country.

4. That selection operative to form a University group is not observable when such a group is compared with general city, or rural populations, and that there are no apparent selective forces at work which operate to form a distinct city type of Negro.

5. That the favorable social position of those persons having non-Negroid traits is seen in the differences which a selected group presents, both as to physical traits and genealogical background, when compared to the general population of which they form a part, while their favorable economic condition is reflected in their increased stature.

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## THE BLACK GIRL PASSES

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS STEWARD

A SCARCELY noted result of the interaction between whites and blacks in this country is the gradual and steady elimination of the black girl from all participation in community life. So pressed is she by forces both within and without the Negro group that her ultimate disappearance seems already decreed. Casual confirmation of her doom may be had by comparing the "color" of gatherings of young Negroes of today with that of similar assemblages of twenty-five years ago. Such comparison reveals the fact that the earlier bodies were noticeably blacker. That is to say, the percentage of black people in them was greater. Today black faces in any Negro audience are few. Brown is the predominating hue, while the increasing number of yellow and white countenances promises to give a paler cast to future groups. The black girl has not been altogether left out of Nature's scheme of perpetuating life, but more and more she has been denied the privilege to mate and her children therefore have been few. The progeny of her lighter colored, more frequently wedded sister consequently outnumber hers. The result is inevitable. Relentlessly she is being discarded.

This inference may be substantiated by a merely cursory examination into other facts. Such an examination will show that everywhere the black girl is vanishing. She is not only being ousted from that sphere so lately entered by women, the economic, and not only from that purely feminine realm called "society," but she is being forced out of the domain which for centuries has been conceded to be woman's particular heritage, namely, the home.

In the economic world, where the black

girl is employed at all, she is shunted into the least desirable positions. It is she who toils longest hours at the most degrading work for the smallest pay. Time was when she could command coveted positions. The black mammy tradition is only one faint glimmer of her former refulgence. But black mammy long since disappeared in reality and is rapidly passing as a memory. Her dusky daughter, no matter how comely, faces a keen industrial competition in which heavy pigmentation spells defeat.

For Negro women generally there has been for many years one preferred avenue of endeavor. By them and by their brothers the profession of teaching has been and is regarded as a select occupation. Those engaged in it were looked up to as perhaps topmost of the "upper crust," enviable possessors of that prestige which goes with the notion that a charmed life exists upon the higher social levels. To be a teacher has been for Negroes a great desideratum. Many an aspiring parent therefore has submitted to grilling sacrifices that his daughter might enter this select class and the family thus win the social leverage thereunto appertaining. Consequently the profession of teaching became the chief outlet for the energies of the rapidly advancing number of trained women. Into it almost exclusively the colleges poured their yearly quotas of "sweet girl graduates." Frequently also a Negro girl conquered the handicaps and prejudices of the Civil Service and became a government clerk. Occasionally Negro women graduates of the country's foremost schools entered the professions. There have been and are successful Negro women physicians, dentists, pharmacists, lawyers and even ministers. And of late

years, a growing number are entering businesses already established by their dark brothers, or are developing their own enterprises, particularly in the vocation called "beauty culture." But the one elect and admired class remains the Negro woman school teacher.

Into this profession the black girl once entered on the same terms with her fairer-skinned sister. Today where she is not completely debarred—and many schools, taking their cue from the smart little trick adopted by the United States Government, insist that a fatal photograph accompany each application—she finds it socially intolerable to hold the job. For in those extra-classroom hours when various forms of entertainment engage her fellow workers, she finds herself coolly overlooked.

In the other professions her case is similar. There are not many Negroes sufficiently emancipated from prejudice against the sex to be served by a woman professional of any race. There are still fewer who would permit a *colored* woman physician of any complexion to prescribe for them, dentist to relieve them, lawyer to defend them, or preacher in their dying moments to pray for them. The number who would call in a *black* woman in any of these capacities is probably quite insignificant. Similarly in businesses conducted by colored men, where Negro girls are used as assistants and clerks, it is the lighter colored girl's application which always receives preferential consideration. Indeed in such businesses as are obliged to hire a large number of young women, it is a rare and surprising sight to note a black girl among the group, so overwhelming is the proportion of white and almost white employees who call themselves Negroes. In the so-called higher industrial positions, then, the black girl is unwelcome. What of her chances elsewhere?

In recent years there have been opened to the Negro girl certain jobs which, while menial, are still chosen by her before domestic service. These jobs embrace work as elevator operators, stock room employees in large department stores, lunch room assistants, pastry and salad makers for chain restaurants, seamstresses in modistes' shops, maids on "crack" trains, etc., etc. But that the dark girl has little or no opportunity in these lines may be concluded from observations in any metropolitan shopping center. Colored elevator girls are usually what Negroes call the "pink" type. Indeed one store says: "We want light-colored girls—not so light that you can't tell them from white people, yet not dark." "Pink," too, are the trim stock girls who dust the glistening rows of "gift shop" novelties or who carry luxurious heaps of ladies' furs and lingerie, the salad and pastry makers busy below the sidewalk level, and the deft assistants who help Madame fit plutocracy's pampered darlings. Furthermore, it is not uncommon to read a "want ad" definitely bidding for light-colored girls, while one specifying dark girls—well an example would be so arresting as to approach the phenomenal.

The result of this industrial squeezing is that the black girl does the "dirty work." She scrubs and cleans offices at night; theatres and assembly halls during the day. She sits for hours in a befogged room stemming tobacco. She strains eyes and nerves sorting bottles in a glass factory. She tortures herself in the back-breaking task of cotton picking. She sweats through row on row of steaming corn stalks, hoe in hand, endlessly "chopping." She may surrender as scullion in great public institutions. Where education, breeding or inclination revolt against all of these, she descends to the lowest level, to domestic service, and becomes

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cook, laundress, housemaid, working at all sorts of personal service in "private family." And although crowded by her fairer-skinned sisters into these very occupations, she yet finds herself being pressed upon here by poorly equipped troops of these self-same fairer-complexioned sisters who are unable to maintain themselves in surer economic stations.

There are certain activities which are universally conceded to be primarily woman's. These activities may be conveniently grouped under those more or less showy modes of human intercourse which we call "society." Related to "society" are the women's clubs, church and social work, the theatre, and other unclassifiable occupations and diversions. For the Negro woman as for others, "society" holds a commanding interest. Nothing whets feminine ambition so irresistibly as the possibility of a "society" triumph. How does the black girl fare in this competitive emprise?

With increasing frequency black girls' names are omitted from invitations to those frivolities we call "social functions." And if because of family or other prestige, "society" cannot avoid inviting them, the difficulty of securing male escorts is often insuperable. Negro men, regardless of the shade of their own complexions, whether they be "pink" or "purple," almost unanimously shun the black girls for mere "society" purposes. Occasionally a black girl may muster enough courage to go to a "function" with sister, mother, a girl friend, or even alone. But the humiliation of it all, the supercilious attitude of the fairer-skinned women as they group themselves in little tittering knots here and there shutting her out, finally squelches even this ebbing bravado.

As indicating her hopeless "society" rôle, consider a few illustrations. At-

tend any Negro dance, the "scaunch" of the "rats" or the exclusive "assembly" of the elite. The "wall flowers" are invariably the darker and black girls. On such occasions it is the practice of the dancing men present to select with guarded casualness the paler girls, often not dancing at all if the only choice remaining is a dark partner.

At a woman's club picnic where all persons were acquaintances, the one black member was also the one person conspicuously not asked to take part in the sports and games, barely spoken to, and left seated alone when the "cats" were handed out. At a school entertainment for which girl ushers were expected to choose their male partners, a black girl found only thin excuses offered by every boy she approached, particularly the popular ones, and was rescued only by the acquiescence of a social obscurity whose only asset was a campus reputation for eccentricity.

If a black girl or woman happens to be active in church work, it is usually because she is found exceptionally tractable when the "Ladies Aid Society" is hopefully casting about for "willing workers" to assume the drudgery attendant upon church suppers etc., and the burden of the job which all are seeking to escape is being skilfully steered in her direction. It requires almost masculine force and satanic adroitness for a black woman to establish and maintain herself in an outstanding capacity in church or school or club, while her membership may be and is often sought with open flattery because she is useful in "rallies," "drives," and other onerous operations. Often, too, she is the perfect cook, possessed of discerning taste in the matter of decorations and completely informed as to what is the vogue regarding "service" for banquets and receptions, and is therefore coddled and coaxed to help at teas, luncheons,

parties and other show-off festivities. But how often is a black Y. W. C. A. secretary or executive woman social worker encountered? How many "stars" of ebony hue are there in the waxing aggregation of musical "revues" peopled by Negroes? It is distinctly true that where feminine charm is the index of social desirability, the black girl is being left—or rather pushed—out.

But just as she is being crushed economically, just as she is being made to know that she is not wanted socially, so is she being mercilessly driven from the one sanctuary which many believe to be woman's place first, last and always, from marriage, family and home. Rarely does the Negro man mate legally with a black woman. He may be black himself, but his wife is from brown to white in color, more often the shades lighter than brown than any other. More than one unmarried male Negro will frankly say a black girl as wife is unthinkable. The determining influence here is, of course, the fact that in America "white" symbolizes privilege. Indeed this fact controls, consciously or unconsciously, the forces which are progressively eliminating the black girl everywhere. And so insistent is the compulsion to acquire, if only vicariously, all the advantages which the word "white" connotes that numbers of crude Negroes heighten into fairy-tale felicity all possible contacts with white people, while certain dark-skinned celebrities have gone a step farther and have married or have contemplated marriage with white women.

Now the "pink" colored girl, realizing the Negro male's preference, is not unaware of her power. She senses that absence of "color" is the Open Sesame to her heart's desires. Her mere presence inspires the darker male to untiring efforts to obtain for her both personally and as a

group all of life's comforts. It is no idle guess to say that all the feverish clamor by various Negro improvement societies for equal rights, privileges, public accommodations and protection, rarely concerns itself with the black sister, but probably grows out of some galling incident happening to the beautiful "pink" wife, sister, daughter, or mistress of some influential Negro either within or without the protesting organization. In other words, when a wealthy Negro man says, for example, that he wants Pullman accommodations for all Negroes everywhere, he is probably thinking not of black Annie who washes or scrubs or cooks for him, but of the cream tinted creature whom his money enshrines in jewels and furs and motor cars.

Aside from the upspringing of a tremendous and fabulously profitable trade in hair-straighteners and face-bleaches, this callous crowding of the black girl from life's delights is not without certain social and emotional by-products. For one thing, it has given rise to a new and remunerative profession. This is the type of parasite known in the picturesque lingo of the street as "the sweet back," a male prostitute who, finding among this group of socially and economically defeated women a forlorn host of the sex-starved, plies his profession extensively. He may be often met in the cities, well-dressed, well fed, well satisfied. Not unusually will he boast of how he is supported, conceiving himself, where he is devoid of the saving grace of self-examination, both as virile and compelling Lothario and as shrewd and unsurpassed financial genius. Occasionally he is less open about his miserable exploitation of an easily betrayed human instinct, and while inwardly revolting against the sordid rental of his person, nevertheless sticks to it for its "easy living." And just as "the sweet

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back" finds so promising a field among these denied black girls, so also do whites who employ them or otherwise make contacts with them readily victimize them.

Another result of this process of rejection is the attempt of those affected to seek compensatory emotional relief in various forms of religious hysteria. Where certain slowly acquired inhibitions are sufficiently effective to prevent sexual lapses, these women often become the "shouters" of religious frenzy. They are the most ardent church workers, the "spiritual lights" of the community. Yet because of the eerie connection between sex-ecstasy and religious exaltation, not infrequently do they fall prey to male members and officials of the very organization to which they have vowed high and holy and continent allegiance. In consequence certain types of perfervidly religious, non-moral Negroes, occupants of both pulpit and pew, haunt the churches to batten on the "easy pickings" among the black sisters of the flock, while the "ruin" of more than one black "handmaiden of the Lord" dates from the "mourners' bench."

A northern white man, once addressing

a group of southern Negro students chose as subject "The Tragedy of the Black Girl." Although promising some "brutal facts" before proceeding, he succeeded merely in stressing the now commonplace matter that men of Negro blood avoid black girls as wives. Nevertheless "tragic" is the term to apply to the black girl's case. Industrially pushed into the inferior positions, mere existence becomes for her a hard bitter battle. Ostracized, outshone, outclassed by her fairer sister, she is doomed to futile contemplation of the pleasures she craves but cannot obtain. Compelled by a "white"-determined system to make physical contacts she would ordinarily disdain, she furthers her own damnation if she allows a child to come into the world. For if the child be fairer than she, it only increases the weight already pinioning her beneath her competitors in the economic struggle. If it be black, it intensifies the pressure against her by adding another black human to the crowd at the bottom already cramped and suffocating. The black girl's case is tragedy, hopeless. Relegated to the rear economically, shunned socially, barred from propagating her kind, she passes.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

A thumb-nail sketch of "The Man-Stifled Orient." Three-fifths of humanity with pessimistic religion, fatalism toward life, the stigma of inferiority on women, masculine and patriarchal authority, early marriages, and large families, are swarming in Asia and North Africa. By curbing their infanticide and disease we westerners upset the balance between births and deaths and aggravate the population problem. For the East will not dampen her

fertility; and the supreme task of statesmanship, E. A. Ross warns us sternly in the *July Century*, is to adjust these overflowing masses to the needs of an increasingly pacific world-order.

Now that the great day of immigration is over, it becomes in retrospect of new interest to the social student. In the *American Historical Review* for April Marcus L. Hansen suggests its importance as a



neglected field for research. Among topics to be considered are the European backgrounds of the emigrant, conditions of transport, the process of distribution in this country, the types of social life into which he entered, survivals and changes in languages and other institutions. The chief sources for such study will be found in the immigrant press and the still unknown masses of literature dealing with religious conditions among immigrants.

The Negro family in America is not, like the Chinese, a unique sociological unit. All African customs and traditions have now disappeared, and its attitudes are based upon those of the white civilization into which it is being assimilated. Yet because this assimilation is still incomplete there are many breaks in cultural continuity and much behavior that falls into no recognized pattern; and because of the Negroes' peculiar economic and social position strong forces of disintegration are at work. Hence, asserts E. Franklin Frazier in *Opportunity* for June, the Negro family needs special sociological study.

In what respects are the Jews distinctive? They are no more a "chosen people" than many other primitive tribes have believed themselves to be. [Anthropometrically they are far from a racial unit. Scattered over the world, they can never become, even in Palestine, a nation. Neither Hebrew nor Yiddish can make them a single linguistic group. They hold the most diverse religious beliefs; their culture is assimilated to that of the peoples they live among; they have no corner in heroic

traditions or in idealism. No: a Jew is a Jew, declares Melville J. Herskovits, in the *Modern Quarterly* for June, merely if he calls himself, or is called by others, Jewish.

Theories to account for human advancement—the racial, the individual-heroic, the technological, the economic—must all go back to the fundamental motives of men. Of these the two most potent in history, affirms George Winter Mitchell in the *North American Review* for June, are aggressiveness and the passion for unity. Under their action he forecasts the extermination of the white peoples, due to their democracy, pacifism, and race suicide, through the ruthlessness and fecundity of the yellow races; and afterwards a similar supplanting of the dominant Mongolians by a mixed brown-black race issuing from Africa. Then only brotherhood—of a sort—and world peace!

That the Negro-in-America, as Walter Page once remarked, is a form of insanity that overtakes many white men and can be studied as "The Pathology of Race Prejudice" is made clear by Edward F. Frazier in the *June Forum*. The whole system of ideas respecting the Negro is in such cases dissociated from the normal personality and becomes exempt from its control. Thus are explained the fear of violence that leads to violence, the myths and rumors that form a basis for absurd rationalizations, and many other delusive defense mechanisms. In practice, such insanity means an incapacity to live a just and useful social life wherever the two races are in contact.



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## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### PROSPERITY AND POLITICAL PARTIES

R. CLYDE WHITE

"PROSPERITY" is not a new argument for keeping a party in power or restoring it to authority, but it seems to be growing in popularity with the politicians. It is a sort of incantation pronounced by the ruling party, when any public question is discussed. The nature of the question matters little; for the answer to those who are dissatisfied with foreign policy, conditions of labor, low prices of farm products or the cost of living has achieved a monotonous sameness in the last few years. If the nation is prosperous, so-called problems are stamped as illusions. It is always the party in power in the national government which lays greatest stress upon prosperity. It is declared to be the cause of the present good fortunes of the country.

Many publicists have criticised this doctrine of the powers that be, but so far as the present writer knows nobody has tried to show by a study of economic statistics the degree of correlation which exists between prosperous times and the ruling party. What do the facts of economic history in the United States show as to the relation of a Republican or Democratic administration to prosperity? Dorothy Thomas has written an extremely interesting book on "Social Aspects of the Business Cycle" and has drawn her data from both the United States and England.

She omitted consideration of political aspects of the business cycle—if it has any. Yet no one will doubt that it is important. Both parties like to talk prosperity, and each charges the other with diabolical designs to upset the perfect social harmony which the other has established or would inaugurate.

The data at hand do not permit the calculation of coefficients of correlation, which Dr. Thomas calculated for her "social aspects," but they can be put in the form of curves and the ruling parties indicated on the ordinates. For the present study 1880 has been selected as the point from which to trace politics and various phases of the business cycle. In the forty-six years which followed both houses of Congress were controlled four times by the Democrats and thirteen times by the Republicans. Control was divided six times. Of the twelve presidents the Democrats elected four and the Republicans eight. If the complexion of the Congress and the presidency has anything to do with prosperity, all students of social problems and social workers will be interested to know which party brings prosperity in order that they may vote for good times.

A few words as to the origin of the prosperity argument will be in order. On account of the fact that the Republicans

have been in control most of the time during the forty-six years they have had a better opportunity to make "prosperity" their particular issue. It is an interesting fact that, although prosperity played a small part in earlier presidential platforms, it became prominent in the year that Garfield was elected. Up to this time the politicians had been more concerned with proving that Reconstruction had been carried through successfully. But the Civil War passed into history and ceased to be a live issue. The South had been

have worked out many index numbers. By means of these and other data we are able to plot curves of prices, costs of living, manufactures, imports, exports, and farm products. We are now in a position to ask the question and answer it statistically: Is prosperity a function of the "ins" or "outs" in national politics, or is it a function of the business cycle?

First, let us have a glance at wholesale prices. The first number of Volume XXI of the *Monthly Labor Review* has a wholesale price index from which we can get the

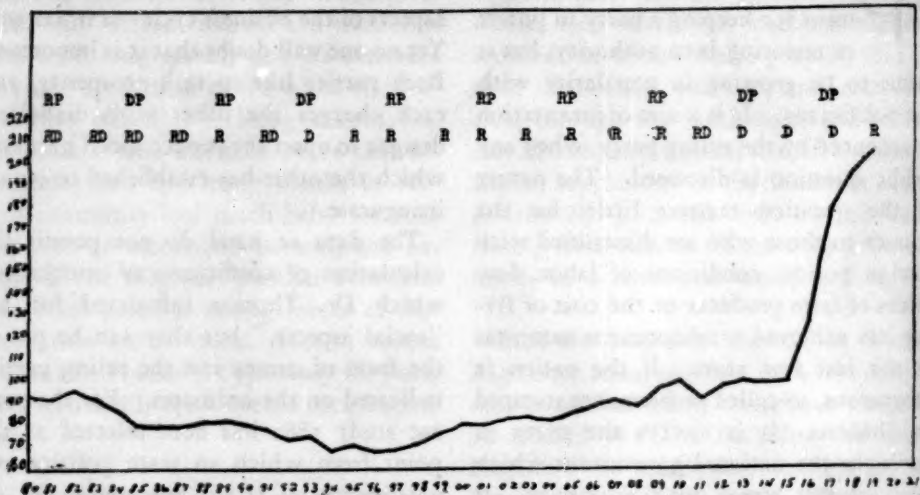


DIAGRAM I. WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX IN RELATION TO POLITICAL PARTIES

incorporated into the Union and was beginning to take a normal part in national affairs. A new fact loomed on the horizon: the great corporations were compelling attention to their activities. The country was at the threshold of a long period of industrial development. What is more natural than that the issue of saving the Union should be exchanged for prosperity? The Grand Old Party had a circumstantial advantage in making this new issue its own. It is barely possible that prosperity may need de-bunking.

Within the last dozen years statisticians

information desired from 1880 to 1919. Diagram I shows graphically the trend of prices. From 1880 to 1896 the curve declines with fair regularity. In 1897 there was a rise of 0.1 per cent. This rise continued steadily until 1916, after which the curve shoots up rapidly through 1919. Elsewhere Bradstreet has shown that it reached its peak in 1920 and started to decline. At the top of the diagram the presidential party is indicated by RP (Republican president) or by DP (Democratic president), and the control in Congress is indicated by R (Republican

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control of both houses), D (Democratic control of both houses) or RD (one house controlled by one party and the other by the opposite). The remarkable thing about the curve is that it pursues its course without reference to the party in power. The most abrupt change in prices occurred during a Democratic administration, but he would be a visionary Democrat indeed who would explain the rapid rise of prices on the basis of the incumbent party; it is

regularly up to 1915. In 1916 the upward trend became rapid and reached a peak in 1920. Again the sharp change in the direction of the curve occurred in a Democratic administration, but obviously it is correlated with the war situation and not with the political party in power. Irrespective of political parties the curve wanders across the page.

Manufacturing has something to do with prosperity. It is to Professor Doug-

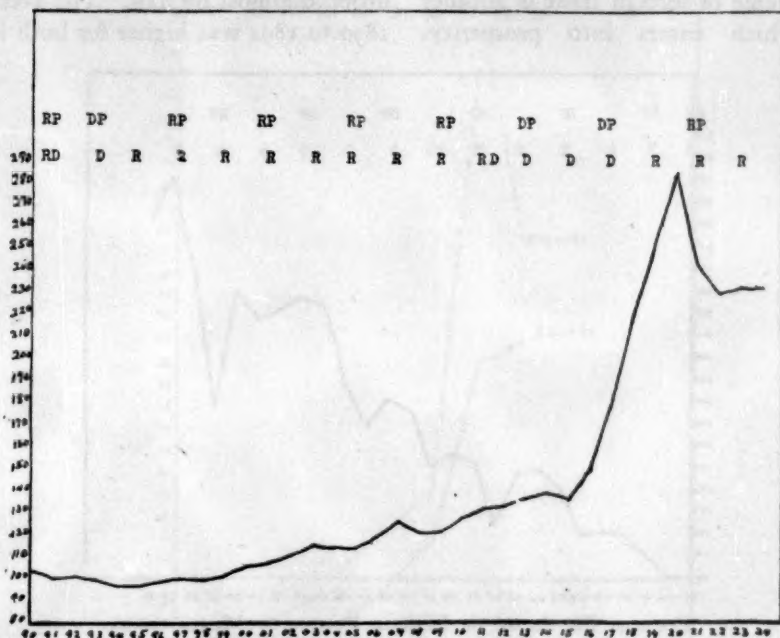


DIAGRAM II. COST OF LIVING INDEX IN RELATION TO POLITICAL PARTIES

clearly attributable to the war situation. No politician could gain consolation or inspiration from this curve.

The cost of living unquestionably has something to do with the feeling of prosperity. In Diagram II the cost-of-living index calculated by Professor Paul H. Douglas is plotted with reference to the party of the national administration. This curve begins with 1890. The cost of living was quite steady from 1890 to 1899, but at this time it began to rise

las to whom the writer is indebted for an index for data to construct the curve of manufactures. The preceding curves have dealt with prices, but the next one deals with the physical volume of manufactures, not prices. (See Diagram III.) This curve is irregular, but the general trend from 1899 to 1914 is steadily upward. At this point it rises rapidly and remains high until 1920, after which it declines and then shoots to a peak in 1923. The long drop occurs in the first year of a

Republican administration, but the peak was also reached in the same administration. Once more the curve varies irrespective of parties in power. The large production occurred during a Democratic administration, when tariffs were falling, and it dropped off at the time that everybody knew a high tariff would be restored. Perversely enough, the curve rises under the new tariff party and then starts on a downward plunge in the third year.

The volume of foreign trade is another factor which enters into prosperity.

party is indicated in the diagram because of lack of space. However, a review of control in the various congresses will bring out the relation of the congressional party to the curves. From 1880 to 1884, the first five-year period, control in Congress was divided. For most of the second period it was divided, the Republicans gaining control in the last year; in this period imports remained almost the same as in the former period, but exports dropped almost by half. The average for 1890 to 1894 was higher for both imports

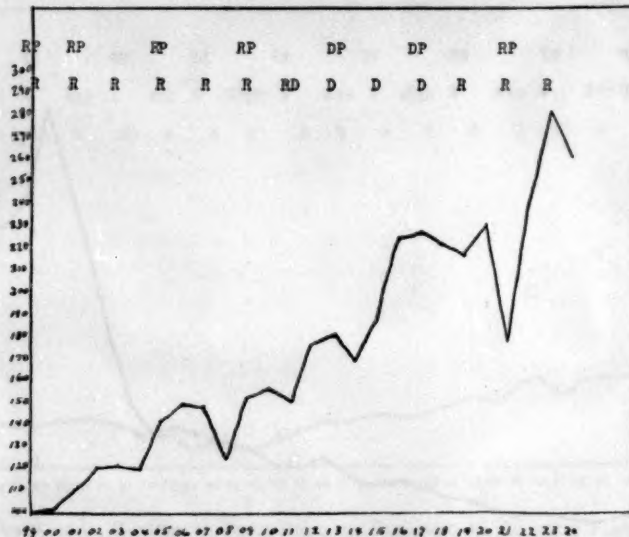


DIAGRAM III. INDEX OF PHYSICAL VOLUME OF MANUFACTURERS

High protective tariffs are directly connected with foreign trade, and the Republican party has been the protectionist party. Surely, if anywhere in the prosperity curve, political parties will affect the volume of imports and exports, especially when the foreign business is expressed in dollars instead of physical volume. Diagram IV exhibits the facts in the case. Because foreign trade is reported by five-year averages, it is not as simple to indicate the change from one party to the other. Only the presidential

and exports, and during this time control was first Republican, then divided, and finally Democratic. From 1895 to 1899 imports dropped again, while exports rose; control was almost completely Republican. Both kinds of foreign trade rose steadily from 1900 to 1914, during which the Republicans were in entire control except for a divided Congress in 1910 and a Democratic Congress in 1912, neither of which conditions changed the upward trend of the curve. The average of imports and exports bounded upward

from 1915 to 1920, exports reaching their peak and imports within about three per cent of a peak; during this time both president and Congress were Democratic until 1919, when a Republican Congress took its seat. The average of imports rose from thirty-two hundred millions to thirty-four hundred millions and of exports dropped from over sixty-two hundred millions to about forty-three hundred

the range in value of farm products; it is figured on the basis of the value of crops per acre of ten different crops each year. Diagram V shows the trend of these values. From 1880 to 1896 the curve is rather jagged, but the general trend is downward. Beginning with 1897 the curve turns upward and has a fairly smooth climb through 1915. At this time values shot upward, reaching a peak in 1919.

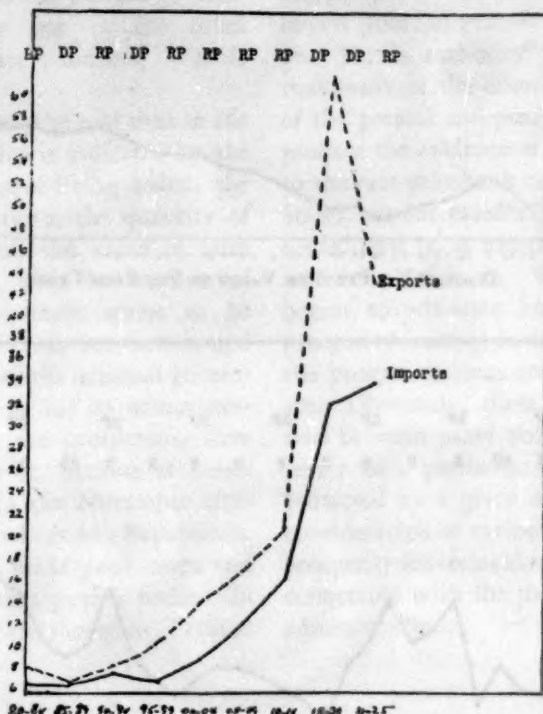


DIAGRAM IV. IMPORTS AND EXPORTS IN HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, FIVE-YEAR AVERAGES

millions in the period of 1921 to 1925; the Republicans were in absolute control, and tariffs were high. Of course, only the war situation adequately accounts for the stupendous changes from 1914 to 1925. Parties were merely concomitant incidents.

To the foregoing aspects of the business cycle may be added the value of farm crops. The Agricultural Yearbook for 1924 gives

In no other curve is the influence of political parties more completely nil than in this one. The full wheat sack and the big cotton bale play havoc with party rationalizations.

There is one more index of prosperity: that is, the number of commercial failures. If prosperity is the possession of a particular party, it ought to be manifested in a regular decrease in failures, when that



party is in power. Let us examine Diagram VI. From 1880 to the middle of Cleveland's first administration the curve rises; then it tends downward until 1887

occurred almost entirely within Cleveland's second administration. During the first two years of McKinley's administration the curve fell rapidly, after which it

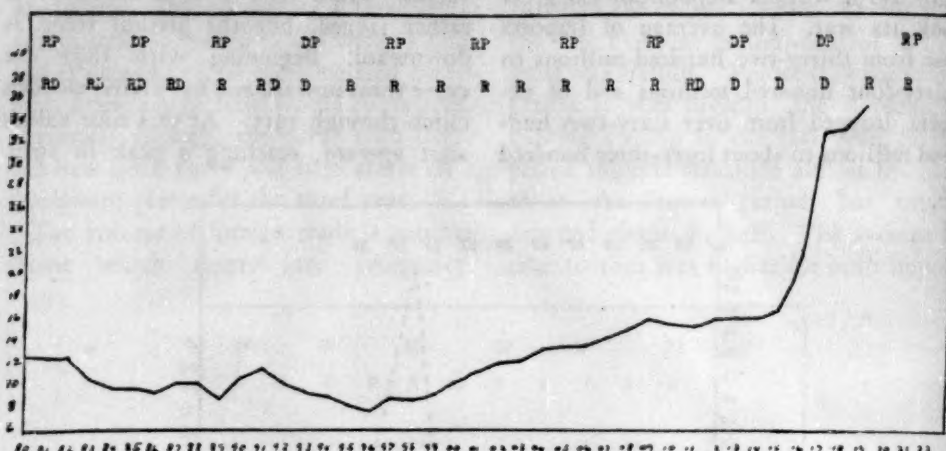


DIAGRAM V. PER ACRE VALUE OF TEN FARM CROPS

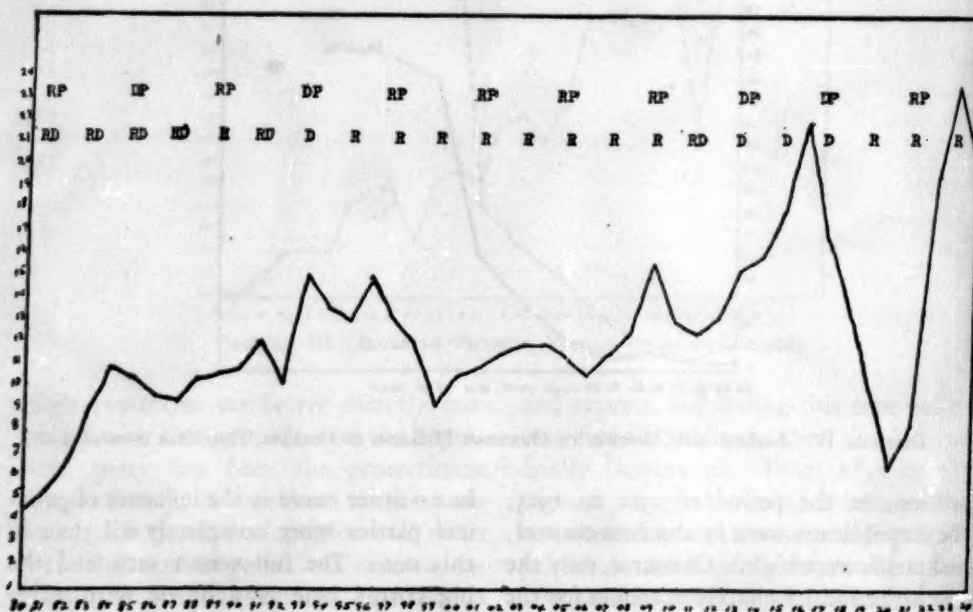


DIAGRAM VI. COMMERCIAL FAILURES IN THOUSANDS

after which it climbs through 1891. In 1892 it dropped considerably, but the next year it reached a new high point, dropping again for two years—this zigzag behavior

started on a more regular climb, reaching a new peak in 1909 but falling off through 1910 and 1911. From 1912 to 1916, almost the whole of Wilson's first administration,

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the curve rose rapidly. Then something happened. In the next four years it dropped to the lowest point it had reached since 1881—Wilson's second administration. With the opening of Harding's administration the curve turned abruptly upward, and in 1923 more failures occurred than in any one year in the history of the country. A relatively slight drop occurred in 1924. To ascribe these recent and great changes in the number of commercial failures to one or the other party would be sheer blindness. *C'est la guerre.*

Summarizing, it may be said that to the extent that prosperity is indicated by the price level, the cost-of-living index, the volume of manufactures, the quantity of imports and exports, the value of farm products per acre, and the number of commercial failures there seems to be little, if any, connection between it and the party affiliation of the national government. If people vote for an administration, because they are prosperous, they are not voting for it, because it *caused* prosperity. In 1924 the November election indicated that wheat was Republican. The wheat farmers made good crops and obtained prices which gave a profit. In another year they are insurgent, because

wheat is not so profitable. A particular industry may be extremely prosperous, while others are languishing. For example, there is the aluminum industry at the present time. It is protected by a high tariff, which is supposed to explain its prosperity, but for some queer reason the textile industry has not thriven so well even with a tariff as high as Haaman's gallows. Cotton farmers are by no means prosperous; the price has dropped to the lowest point in years. Dr. B. M. Anderson, Jr., is authority for the statement that many of the economic developments of the present and preceding years which produce the evidence of prosperity are due to the fact that bank credit in the United States has increased faster than ordinary needs; that is, it has considerable fiction mixed up with it. When a politician begins to advocate his election on the prosperity issue, it is time to ask who are the prosperous ones and how many they are. Obviously, there may be a connection between party politics and the prosperity of a particular industry which is protected by a given administration, but consideration of various aspects of general prosperity leaves us skeptical of its alleged connection with the party of the national administration.

## AN APPROACH TO STATE PLANNING

EDWARD EYRE HUNT

MORE than a century and a half ago a young topographical engineer living in the colony of Virginia wrote to the Royal Governor of Maryland: "There is the strongest speculative proof in the world to me of the immense advantages which Virginia and Maryland might derive (and at a very small comparative expense) by making the

Potomac the channel of commerce between Great Britain, and that immense Territory (the Mississippi Valley)." The young engineer, whose name was George Washington, was struck, as everyone must be who looks at the map, by the fact that the Virginia capes and Chesapeake Bay are the natural gateway to the heart of the North American continent. With

the North Carolina sounds they seem devised by nature to be a focal point in economic and social development. Washington surveyed the Dismal Swamp Canal, and he dreamed of Maryland, Virginia and Carolina as the top stones in the arch of the American empire.

His is one of the earliest and soundest national plans. It is interesting to speculate as to what would have been the results if there had been no American Revolution and if the economic development of the Colonies had proceeded on the lines laid down by this great public leader. For Washington, as his diaries show, was a business man, an economist, if you please, rather than a politician, and when victory was won in the Revolutionary War, the Colonies needed economic leadership and vision almost as much as they needed political stability. But Washington had to be drafted as President of the new Union. He resigned as head of the Potomac Canal Company which he had organized in 1785. Without his leadership the project of pushing an artificial waterway westward was allowed to languish, and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal reached Cumberland only when the era of canals was past.

This early project is cited because it was characteristic of the Father of his Country and of his associates, genuine national planners in the field of social and political economy. Superior transport facilities were fundamental to Washington's plan as they are to any adequate plan today. In furtherance of the original plan, the great national road was driven west from Cumberland, beginning in 1811. The capital at Washington laid out at George Washington's direction by that great city planner, L'Enfant, was in accordance with this plan to be the educational, economic, and financial center of the new nation—a city comparable with the capitals of the

old world, lying at the eastern extremity of a network of roads and waterways to the heart of the continent.

Today there are many focal points other than the tidewater region of Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina, but the need of national planning persists. It was characteristic of the plan which the fathers of the Republic had in mind that it was not only geographical and economic, but human. The state and private papers of Washington, of Adams, of Jefferson, of Gallatin, of Monroe, of Madison, of John Quincy Adams—men of similar purposes and similar capacity for national planning—all lay emphasis on the character and abilities, the employment and the standards of life of the American people. With the social and economic revolution which is symbolized by the election of Andrew Jackson as President in 1828, their classic dream was shattered, and for good or ill it is fair to say that from that time until the present, politics in this country has been largely a fortuitous calling, and policy-making has followed and has not modeled most of our great events.

There are scores of examples of city planning throughout the country. Our foremost industries are making elaborate plans for the future: the American Telephone and Telegraph Company is planning at least twenty-five years ahead. But what of state and national planning? The time seems to be coming when genuine scientific national planning can be undertaken again after a lapse of a century. Much can be done by the federal government. The Superpower Survey of the North Eastern States, the plan for the St. Lawrence, the proposals for railroad consolidations—these are items which illustrate the importance of national planning on the broadest possible scale. But the field for state and county planning, it

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seems to me, is even richer. The states and counties are still the vital political units. If in this area which lay so close to the heart of George Washington, one of the states should begin to construct a state plan for a quarter-century, a half-century, even a whole century ahead, it would do much to revive and to fill out that classic American plan sponsored by the fathers of the Constitution and the early American presidents. It would be a happy tribute to the memory of George Washington and a happy augury for the future of the state.

What would be involved in such a plan? First, a survey of resources, moral and physical; a statement of social and economic assets and liabilities, and an examination of trends forward or backward. Next, a projection of these curves into the future based on present knowledge and past experience. Finally, a determination of social and economic objectives. The federal government, the state government, the universities and colleges of North Carolina—all are sources of material, much of which is already available but needs to be pulled into focus with a state plan in mind. For instance, the Census of Manufactures shows that North Carolina wage earners in factories have increased nearly two and a half times in the past quarter of a century; that wages paid have increased eight times; that the value of products has increased eleven times, and the value added by manufacture ten times. If these ratios persist, what will be the situation in 1950? What are the probabilities of even greater growth?

The figures for farming tell an equally important story. They show a decreasing total farm population, an increase in the number of farms, a decrease in farm acreage, and a wonderful increase in farm values. This last figure in 1900 was \$233,834,693; in 1925 it was \$1,860,563,456.

The average value of all property per farm has trebled in twenty-five years. But against this happy fact, we must note that the percentage of farms operated by tenants was 41.4 in 1900; it was 45.2 in 1925. University and college studies are admirable bases for clear-headed planning for the future of farming.

The heart of any plan is human; not material. It is men, women, children, first: not lands or forests or rivers or even the works of men's hands. We must know what North Carolina has in men, women and children and what they will do with a plan—even the best plan in the world. We must decide if they will be able to do a first-class job of state making, or a second-class job, or only a third-class job. We must find out how they rank in energy, drive, initiative, stick-to-it-iveness, health, wealth, education and training, imagination and morals. How they compare with the people of the Pacific Coast, the Middle West, New England, the Central Atlantic States, the farther South. A survey will show admirable advance during the past quarter-century, indeed during the past few months I might say, in better health, better schooling, increased wealth per capita. But advance is not victory. Other sections and States are advancing too. We should know if North Carolina is in the van or in the rearguard, and where the State should rank in twenty-five years; in fifty; in one hundred years. No part of our preliminary survey is half so important as to judge soberly and severely the capacity and promise of the people of North Carolina.

For example, what is the state of health of the people of North Carolina? What is the death rate? Public health is the center of good planning. Wealth without health, even genius without health, is a poor thing indeed. So let us put

health first in our planning. In the process of collecting information it may be possible to rank the counties of the state as regards public health, then to offer an annual prize to that county which shows the greatest improvement. Community pride can be stimulated and advance can be assured if the public is thoroughly aroused.

Next should come education. In twenty-five years North Carolina has nearly doubled attendance in elementary schools and high schools; has increased attendance at agricultural colleges nearly five-fold; attendance at universities and colleges has risen from 3,247 in 1900 to 10,826 in 1925. But how carry education to the farm and the factory? But what of education a quarter of a century from now? Education is a problem which does not wait upon convenience. It disturbs every social dream. It is restless and inquiring. It intrudes into every discussion. It demands that it shall be heard. Our task is to do in a generation what took centuries in the past.

Then the survey must investigate the wealth of the people. In twenty-five years your population has increased 350 per cent; taxes have risen 716 per cent. North Carolina is fourteenth among the States in population and forty-second in per capita wealth. If it possessed a race of supermen, all supremely educated, its present and future activities would still be limited to some degree by the fact that wealth on a large scale is lacking. But wealth can be created, so that the balance sheet is only a starting point where faith and skill and energy are added.

What about the opportunity for work? How are the people of the state employed, and for how much of the time? Farming is a seasonal occupation; most factory employment still is seasonal. Is there child labor here? Are the energies of the adult

population of North Carolina wasted because they are not employed skilfully and continuously? How many weeks in the year are carpenters, masons, bricklayers, painters, decorators, plasterers and other craftsmen employed? In the nation at large we found three years ago that the building trades were then occupied wholly for only three to five months in the year, and the burden of their idleness falls on producers, distributors, employers and the public as well. We find for the nation as a whole great differences in plant efficiency, so that nearly half of the human brain and muscle which goes into many processes is wasted. Is this true of North Carolinians? If so, we should find out what these bad practices are costing the people and how to change them. For use of the time and energies of men is the best test of our civilization.

A city plan lays much emphasis, and properly, on street planning and zoning. As Mayor Eldridge has pointed out, the city planning of Raleigh should have been done one hundred years ago! Think how urgent the need of social planning for the whole state must be in the light of that declaration. Now, the physical layout for the state plan will require a careful study of highways, waterways, railways, airways, fuel resources, hydroelectricity, forest resources, agricultural resources, and minerals. State authorities have prepared much of this material, but it needs to be digested and assembled for general use; it needs to be drawn into a pattern and made the basis of the plan.

North Carolina highways are the admiration of the country. Today concrete or brick roads reach 8,651 farms; macadam roads reach 2,651; gravel roads, 12,240; improved dirt roads, 119,590; unimproved dirt roads reach 130,990, and there is a miscellaneous balance of 9,360. About half the farms, if these figures are

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correct, still are not reached by anything better than unimproved dirt roads.

In the wake of good roads have come the consolidated schools. Local markets have been enlarged ten fold. Land values have increased. Indeed, if anyone criticizes the state's expenditures on roads I suggest that the University of North Carolina, the State College of Agriculture or the state authorities make a study of increased values of land due solely to the highway system.

What of waterways? Progressive commissioners and governors of the state have called attention to the urgent need of improving them. Is North Carolina getting anything like a maximum return on what God has given it? Of course not. Has water transport any intimate relation to transport by rail? Probably not. But it will bear looking into and planning for a long time to come. Such projects are not local; they affect the whole state and nation. They are an intimate part of any general planning.

What of railways? Do they and highways form an integral system? Are they Siamese twins or only distant cousins? And how about terminal facilities? In the next twenty-five years the railroads of the United States will need terminals on a scale undreamed of even a few years ago. How will this item shape up in our plan?

And airways and landing fields? Where is North Carolina to stand in the future after the extraordinary developments foreshadowed by the Wrights' work in 1903 at Kitty Hawk?

When we turn to heat and power resources, North Carolina has no great deposits of coal, but it is within armslength of some of the finest coals on the continent. A survey of fuel requirements is needed, however, with particular reference to economical power production, average load factors, and seasonal fluctuations.

Hydroelectrical development also has its place in the picture. The state has cheap power and cheap labor. In processes where these two are large factors in production, industries will come. But what industries? And in what volume? Will North Carolina continue to offer cheap power and cheap labor? These questions are vital to its planning.

Twenty-five years is a short time in the life of a tree, just as it is a short time in the life of the state. A fifty-year period for forest planning is probably better. A forest policy for this period is certainly desirable. The forest can be maintained. It need not be destroyed. But a wise policy of reforestation or afforestation will depend on wise utilization of wood. How much of the tree is used in North Carolina? I venture to say about one-third. That means that two-thirds of each tree cut down is as good as thrown away. That fact is not an indictment of American industry in itself, but reflects a general point of view which was natural if not inevitable in pioneer days at a time when unbroken forests extended half-way across the continent. Now, when reforestation is a matter of national importance, we find before it can be made economical that we must get from each tree a larger degree of usefulness, and consequently the whole policy hinges on wise utilization of wood. The wasteful habits of ten generations have to be changed before our generation and those which are to come can benefit by a wiser attitude toward the forests and forest products. The habits of a single lifetime are hard to break; we must change the habits of ten lifetimes.

A similar survey of mineral resources is basic to this work. Are minerals—wasting resources—being wisely used? Facts are needed to picture to the citizens of the state the panorama of the future of



North Carolina with her future demands for iron, bauxite and other minerals properly studied and related. Production studies and marketing studies, too, are necessary, alongside many others.

There are many questions which must be answered before genuine plan-making is actually undertaken. Such questions as who should make the preliminary survey? Who should construct the plan? Where is the money coming from? Perhaps a state conference of social work might be the preliminary agency. Maybe it should be the University. Maybe the state government. Maybe it should be a special commission set up for the purpose. Needless to say the work should be competent and impartial and should reflect a genuine desire and demand of the people of North Carolina. Before anything else the need for state and county planning and its advantages should be laid down before the people, and in this task surely the Conference might well assume leadership.

With the results of a survey of resources, moral and physical; with a statement of social and economic assets and liabilities fearlessly set forth, and a projection of the curves of progress into the future for at least a quarter-century, there still remains the determination of social and economic objectives.

A good plan would tell us:

1. *What* is to be done, and *why*
2. *Who* is to do it
3. *When* is it to be done, and *where*

Throughout our land, city planners are at work with the approval of a nation tired of drifting. New York City is earnestly endeavoring to plan out its future; the New York State and New Jersey Port Authority is trying to plan for the future of that great harbor at the mouth of the Hudson; the State of New York is developing a plan for dealing with

its natural resources and water power; Cleveland has a city plan; Detroit has a plan; so has Pittsburgh; so has St. Louis; so has Memphis; so has Raleigh. There are others almost innumerable.

The state plan should be devised so as to enlist this same wide-spread public sympathy and support. It should suggest to each citizen and each group his and its place and share in the future of the state. It should show in what order the more important activities are to be taken up and what they will cost, and it should spread the costs.

Can you tell how much the state should plan to spend in a decade or two decades hence? And by the state I do not mean merely the state government; I mean counties and municipalities; public utilities; private industries; all of the elements which make up the state. The people of a great state should be able to say, "We believe heartily in our future. We assume responsibility for it. Here is our plan. Every two, or three, or five years we shall make a check-up of what we have accomplished, with a public audit of the results, good or bad. We know what we want, and we are out to get it."

And such a plan must include such objectives as—eradication of disease, safety in all industrial processes, state wide education and training, the completion of the highways, coördination of rail and water-borne traffic, development of air ports, development of industrial and agricultural coöperation the full development of power resources, the transmission of cheap power to the farms, the industrialization of farming, utilization of forest and mineral resources and complete employment.

Some parts of the plan will no doubt involve compulsion and therefore legislation; others will be purely voluntary and action on them can be left to the good

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sense and decency of the average citizen. For example, zoning ordinances are necessary in cities, but much is left to the voluntary self-restraint of the city dweller when a plan has once been adopted and thoroughly understood. We are living in a period when coöperation is proving itself better than compulsion, when conscience is more effective than the police. We can trust a great deal to the good sense of the manufacturer, the farmer, the merchant, the professional man, the edu-

cator, and the citizen generally, but leadership is necessary and must be supplied.

A college classmate of mine once wrote a book called *Drift and Mastery*. Those two words sum up the great American problem; it is *drift or mastery*. Our economic and social development in the past have been left too much to drift; nothing is so certain as that in the future it will be mastered; nothing is so certain as that those who plan will lead.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

Liberty is not one but many. It may be national, political, intellectual, personal, or economic, and these aspects are often at variance with one another, as some of them notably were during the Civil War. Today the chief conflict is between personal and economic liberty, brought about by extension of state control over industry. The true test of any official or private action must lie, as Sir Herbert Samuel points out in the *Contemporary Review* for May, in the degree to which it enlarges one or more essential forms of liberty, even though less essential forms are thereby diminished.

As an official who has both pardoned and refused to pardon criminals awaiting execution, George W. Hays, former governor of Arkansas, maintains "The Necessity for Capital Punishment" in the *June Scribner's*. In theory, he says, the state has no right to take human life, and the death penalty does not decrease capital crimes, but it is nevertheless a means of preventing mob violence in cases of cold-blooded murder for which public opinion demands the extreme punishment. Particularly where Negroes are involved, the

certainty of execution will be likely to allay the passions of an aroused community.

Shall we put religion into the schools? Debating this question vigorously in the *June Forum*, Benjamin S. Winchester emphasises the present anti-religious bias of public education. Religion (a very different thing from the church) and the state must become allies through the teaching of the Bible as literature and the religious interpretation of all knowledge. His opponent, Harvey M. Watts, brands such a program as sectarian and obscurantist, maintaining as well that even to release children on certain hours each week for religious instruction in the churches is an unconstitutional denial of freedom of conscience. . . . In the *World's Work* for May and June Homer Croy exposes without comment the propaganda carried on in high schools and colleges by the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism.

The common sense attitude toward human relations, both individual and group, is one of balanced confidence and

fear. Without some trust there could be no social life; without some suspicion no security. In the May *Atlantic* a pacifist, Reinhold Niebuhr, offers "A Critique of Pacifism," holding it to be psychologically false in exalting the first of these qualities at the expense of the second and attempting to create virtue in others by the mere act of assuming it. It is far harder to moralize groups, in which responsibility is diffused, than individuals, and a wealthy country like ours can indulge its ideals of peace only by refusing to insist on material advantages which destroy for other nations the sense of human fellowship.

Is it possible to define and measure political phenomena? In the *American Political Science Quarterly* for May George E. G. Catlin suggests, as a carefully weighed and reasoned definition, the control relationship of individual and group wills, and as units for measuring the various strengths of such relationships, he names physical and material equipment, intensity of feeling, and organization. Thus politics may be delimited in accordance with some fundamental principle and the value of political psychology and dynamics recognized. . . . The following article contains a detailed study by Samuel Rezneck of "The Political and Social Theory of Michael Bakunin," the apostle of anarchism.

Conservatism reigns today in the politics and economics of the western world; liberalism in its religion and morals, its science, art, and literature. Why the disparity? Partly because of wealth; partly because legal compulsion is the easiest substitute for the decayed authority of family and church; partly because we have passed out of the simpler eras of Voltaire and Emerson, when the best government

was actually one that governed least, into a Great Society that can for the present rest only on custom, order, and standardization. The classic doctrine of *laissez faire* underestimated the rapacity of the strong and the value of social coöperation; yet if we must needs let our outer lives be regulated, freedom of the mind will have to be the more jealously guarded. And we may learn in time that the highest function of government is not to legislate but to educate men to the point where they can some day get along without it. Thus Will Durant, with no less scintillation than usual, "In Praise of Freedom" in the June *Harper's*.

Changes in the political temper of a people are not to be explained in terms of class antagonisms, economic rivalry, or other specific cause so much as by very human reactions from the spirit of a preceding era. William Bennett Munro illustrates this "Pendulum of Politics" in the May issue by the varying attitudes toward leadership in America between 1910 and 1920, and by the alternations of conservatism and liberalism here and in Europe from 1815 to 1840. Wars, aggressive personalities, and unusually strong or weak policies will sometimes distort these arcs of change to some extent, but the tendency is always there. Yet the base of the political pendulum is not a fixed point: it is continually moving either to Right or Left, and no later age ever returns to the precise position of a former.

This same pendular or spiral motion of public events—by which a war is always followed by conservatism and a long peace by liberalism—is the most striking of the laws of politics, a number of which Dr. Munro enunciates in the *Yale Review* for July. Other laws are the determinism of geography and racial inheritance, which

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gives a certain consistency to the history of areas or peoples; the tendency of all governments to autocracy; the softening influence of official responsibility upon men and parties; the expression of resentment rather than of appreciation in elections; the inefficiency of popular rule. May not a fuller understanding of these and other controlling forces lead to the amalgamation of "Modern Science and Politics"?

Holding that environment is the chief approach to social behavior, George A. Lundberg in the March *American Journal of Sociology* has attempted to determine "The Demographic and Economic Basis of Political Radicalism and Conservatism." A comparison between two mid-western communities of each type shows that in topography, soil, and climate, in degree of social development, in character of population, and in economic condition striking differences exist. The radical is more likely to live in a relatively undeveloped area, to be free from the bonds and pressure of a traditional society, and to be socially and economically insecure.

From Aristotle to yesterday it was said without contradiction: Man is a political

animal, hence the state. Today we cannot disprove that simple though unsatisfying dictum, yet it is reasonable to suppose that the state is, on the contrary, a common law corporation, entered into consciously and by consent in primitive communities for the protection of property through the granting of police power to some strong individual. Although, as Ezra Bowen remarks in the July *Scientific Monthly*, there is of course no direct evidence of this, it forms the best working explanation of political life, and may well stand until we find a better.

There is no dearth of recent discussions on crime. The *Scientific Monthly* for May contains five articles concerning its causes and the newer methods of punishment, and in the July number Howard C. Forbes arraigns the death penalty as being unjustified by science. It is, however, warmly defended by Howard Florance in the June *Review of Reviews*. The social conception of crime and the social treatment of the offender are championed by Philip A. Parsons in the May *American City*; while Nels Anderson in the *Survey* for May 15 describes the work of the Subcommittee on the Causes of Crime in New York.



## SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### A FAMILY WAGE-RATE VS. A FAMILY SOCIAL ENDOWMENT FUND<sup>1</sup>

ETHELBERT STEWART

I HAVE been deeply interested for over a quarter of a century in what seems to me the underlying principle of what is now called family allowances. At first it seemed to me that, as the owner of an individual establishment must set aside a certain amount to replace his machinery when it is worn out and a certain amount for depreciation of his buildings when they shall have fallen down, so industry must provide for the renewal of the labor supply.

<sup>1</sup> Discussion of family allowances and family wage-rates has grown to be quite voluminous. A list of the publications on the subject between 1924 and 1926 would include the following:

Bulletin No. 401. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Family Allowances in Foreign Countries*, by Mary T. Waggaman, Washington, March, 1926.

*Family Allowances*—a bulletin of the International Labor Office, Geneva, 1924.

*The Disinherited Family—A Plea for Family Endowment*, by Eleanor F. Rathbone, London, 1924.

*Wages and the Family*, by Paul H. Douglas, Chicago, 1925.

*Family Income Insurance—A Scheme of Family Endowment by the Method of Insurance*, by Joseph L. Cohen, London, 1926.

*Family Allowances in Practice*—An examination of the development of the family wage system and the compensation fund principally in Belgium, France, Germany and Holland, by Hugh H. R. Vibart, London, 1926.

Twenty-five years ago I thought of this in terms of wages just as they now speak in many parts of Europe of a family wage. When I first began to discuss this with manufacturers I met the objection that while it might be true in Europe that the children followed the avocation of the parents, it was not true in this country and that a single industry, like paper and pulp, iron and steel or any other that might be suggested, could have no assurance that the children born to the workers engaged by such industry at any time would be available to that industry as a labor supply when such children were grown. In other words in this country there is not only lacking a certainty of children following the industry of their parents but there is not even a probability that such will be the case. Hence while I believe in a wage that will not only enable the worker to support an average family, I believe this wage should be held to the average family point, providing a feeling of safety to the unmarried in forming the natural family ties.

While I believe that the so-called family allowances can be fairly defended in the case of large families on industrial grounds, and may be expressed in the form of wage if the whole industry is pooled to meet it, as we do in the case of workmen's

compensation funds, yet I have long since felt that the industrial argument was entirely too narrow and that the provision for meeting the expenses of rearing the young expressed as a wage left out the real justification for the theory.

The duty of society as a whole, of our varied civilization in fact, to pay its share in the replacement of the raw material of which civilization is composed is much more far reaching and vital than the mere replacement or keeping up the labor supply. The existence of the State, the existence of society, of civilization, the perpetuation of the race, is much more essential than that any particular industry or all industries should have an ample supply of workers. In these days we can substitute machines for men in industry, but we cannot substitute machines for men in our political or our social structure. We have utterly failed so far to invent a machine which will use and pay cash down for the products of other machines, and so all along the line. We have not invented a machine that fulfills the duties that man owes to society or the obligations that he alone can meet toward civilization itself. Admittedly one of the serious problems which the ages have never solved, growing out of all our civilizations,—ancient or modern, oriental or occidental,—has been the problem of the rich and poor.

The thinking on this particular problem has been to my mind exceedingly superficial if not shallow, and has at no time and in no instance been at all complimentary to the intelligence of economists, statesmen, philanthropists, or anybody else. All have followed more or less the cheap trickery of that alleged wise man Solomon who said, "The curse or undoing of the poor is his poverty." If we have no greater wisdom than that, thinking is

hardly worth while. It is like saying that the trouble with cold countries is the temperature.

We have always associated the idea of the poor with large families, and we have always associated the idea of the rich with few or no children. In the poor sections of the cities the streets swarm with the little ones who are not only to be the labor supply of the next generation but the citizens of the state and the members of society. In their hands are to fall the questions that exercise and disturb our type of civilization. They are to handle the problems that confront the human race.

Now in our idea that the poor have most of the children and that the rich are essentially childless, have we not put cause for effect? The poor do not have children because they are poor, they are poor because they have children. The rich are not childless because they are rich, they are rich because they are childless. It is the cost of rearing a family. Take two boys starting with equal prospects, equally good situations and income. They marry at the same time and get an even start in life. In one case at the end of the first marriage year a child is born. Let us say that every two years thereafter a child is born until there are five children. In the other case the couple remain childless. Let us suppose these two young men have a wage or salary income of \$2,500 each. Now let us see what happens.

The childless man, presuming equal economy and thrift in each party, saves his money and puts it in a bank. The other expends his money in the necessary expense growing out of the birth and care of a child. In a comparatively few years the childless man has accumulated \$1,000 with which he can begin to make prof-



itable investments, so that his savings are earning a very appreciable addition to his salary income.

According to Dr. Louis I. Dublin, Statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, who has carefully worked this matter out, it costs \$7238 to rear a child to the age of eighteen, this on the standard of living of a family with an income of \$2500 a year. Let us make it even money, \$7200, and it must be understood that this is exclusive of the \$1100 which the public pays to educate that child in the public schools. The net cost to the parent is \$7200 per child at the age of eighteen. If this bare sum of money without any investment or any income therefrom be considered, the man of family has invested \$36,000 in cash in his family, which sum in and of itself would in the old days before we began measuring fortunes by billions have been considered a respectable fortune. At any rate it would lift him out of the ranks of the poor. On the other hand the childless man has not only saved this \$36,000 from his salary but he has had an opportunity to use it as cash capital during a period of twenty-seven years from his marriage to the time the other man's fifth child would be eighteen years old. His capital has accumulated, in other words, for twenty-seven years plus the interest or dividends on that growing capital. If extremely fortunate in his investments he may with this sort of a start become what is called a very rich man.

If it be objected that the figures quoted from Dr. Louis I. Dublin are based upon a family income too high to be of consequence to the world in general or even to the United States taken as a whole, my answer is this,—Dr. Dublin's figures show practically that the cost of rearing a child to the age of eighteen on a given standard of living equals the earnings of practically

three years of a man's life. If three children must be maintained to keep up the present population of the race then nine years of each man's life must be given to the maintenance of the status quo of population. Now as the income of the man decreases the standard of life will decrease, not the number of children, until a point is reached where the standard of living is so low that the food supply of the woman interferes with and obstructs her fecundity,—where a decrease in population will follow as the result of poverty or underfeeding of the married female population. The number of years' work that the child costs the wage earner or father does not materially change, even though his income reaches a level where his children are so underfed that they do not develop into valuable citizens and are frequently not sufficiently robust that the girls are reproductive. I think it is conceded that the mother will feed her children whether or not she has enough to eat and that thus eventually she will starve herself into a state of sterility. I am of course not able to produce elaborate statistics to prove this theory mathematically but I doubt if anyone who has mingled much with the extreme poor will raise the question. Another thing,—as the earnings of the father decrease below a certain point the death rate of children as children increases and the fewer of those born are raised to maturity.

Now what has happened is that one man has invested his total savings for himself, the other has invested his total savings, at least for a period of twenty-seven years, in the production of the raw material of civilization, in the raw material of national growth and national prosperity, and in the raw material of the very existence of the human race. He has done much more than merely provide for the replacement of labor in industry. He

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has provided for the replacement of the raw material of everything that constitutes mankind and all of the institutions of mankind.

It might be well also to consider the social gain that would come from an increase in marriages if young men and women could marry with a feeling of assurance that if children came their whole plan of life would not be wrecked by the increased cost due to their coming before financial preparation could possibly be made for them.

It might also be well to consider the better children that would result from the absence of worry on the part of the prospective mother who realizes the rapid approach of an expense not provided for in the family budget. The cost of being born, estimated at \$250.00, causes an anxiety in the mind of the mother which reflects upon the unborn child, and frequently does it a damage which is sometimes socially very much more than the cost of being born.

We are told that we must feed our babies milk from "contented cows," and that milk from dairy herds that are worried and pestered from any cause will make our babies sick. It is probably fully as important that we have babies from contented mothers to start with as that we feed these babies milk from contented cows after they have arrived.

It might be well also to consider how far the working of mothers outside the home is a detriment to the child which would be obviated by this social allowance.

The public has recognized its interest in these children to the extent of an expenditure of \$1100 each in the education of the child when the child is produced. In other words in the United States we are willing to spend \$1100 each on the children as raw material to prepare them

for better citizenship and to be more efficient workers, using that term in the broadest social sense and not exclusively in the industrial sense. But so far we have not been willing to pay a cent for the raw material to educate. That entire cost has been thrown upon the parents along with a sort of contempt for them because they have become poor enriching the world.

In a few instances society has in a most meager and inconsequential way tacitly at least recognized that the bringing into the world of a number of children was a public service. Income tax exemption by a most charitable view may be considered as doing this, though as a matter of fact the tax exemption was put in simply because the taxing powers realized that a man with a large family could not pay, not because he ought not to pay.

The change of the term from "family wage" to "family allowance" and to the term "social wage" in some instances would indicate that there was an inkling of this social obligation and that it was rather a belated movement for society to pay its debts for self-preservation to those who were preserving it rather than a necessary tax upon industry to maintain its labor supply.

If we cannot get away from the replacing labor supply theory as expressed in the term "family wage," the movement itself is not likely to be able to carry with it a sufficient increase of compensation to make it of any great value. If on the other hand we can get the larger view and an adequate appreciation of the larger purpose, if we can enlarge our theory to encompass the real facts, it may give us what the world has never had—a reasonably permanent civilization.

In Australia it was found that a very small percentage of the marriages furnished a very large percentage of the

children. In every country and in every age it is and has been true that a small percentage of the potential parentage is furnishing all of the racial increase. As we look back over the ages and the civilizations that are dead and gone we find that in every instance wealth concentrates in the hands of the few, who by various means and under various names enslave the impoverished mass. Then the wealthy few cease to exist by family extinction. The top of the citadel of your civilization falls in on the mass, which comprise the foundation and which do not know how to operate a citadel, and your civilization is gone and must be built up again from the bottom.

In one of the villages which Schlieman excavated in Greece he found a list of 102 citizens with their families. It seems to have been a genealogical record. Thirty-eight of these were married, sixty-four unmarried. Of the thirty-eight married families seventeen were childless, twenty-one had children. But the twenty-one families had all told only nineteen sons and twelve daughters. In other words seventeen families had no children, fourteen had one child, four had two children, three had three children, and no family had more than three children. When you realize that of those who marry there must be at least three children in order to keep the human race at its present number, this miniature statistical table from ancient Greece shows us why the civilization of Greece is no more.

We have no direct proof that Greece ever saw the point. Rome, however, did, and aside from the foolish laws enacted to punish bachelors there was some really constructive work, particularly under Augustus, who seems to have sensed the real situation. Augustus ordered that 1,000 sesterces should be paid to the par-

ents for each child whether son or daughter. And while it is not clear whether or not this was paid only to the families who lived on farms, it is certain that emperors following Augustus did provide real assistance to the rearing of children by cash payments based upon the number of children in the family to all families both in Rome itself and throughout Italy. The stipend, however, was reduced until it became ineffective. The Augustan allowance of 1,000 sesterces was, however, a genuine sharing of the cost of production of an adult human being.

In this matter I have considered solely the money cost or that element which makes the difference between the rich and the poor. I have not considered the care and worry of the parents for the child, the additional work upon the mother and the additional work and discouragement and worry upon the father. Let us assume so far as the present problem goes that these are covered by the sentimental side of the rearing of offspring. I have assumed that the joy that a mother gets from her child compensates her for her backaches and her weariness and I have only considered the absolute money cost.

To summarize then,—I am unalterably opposed to a difference in industrial-wage rates as between the married and the unmarried, as between the family of three and the family of five, because I believe that every man should earn enough to enable him to marry and rear a family of five if he wants to and that every married man should receive a wage which will enable him to save up against the day when he will have a family of five or more. For this reason I am not enthusiastic about a family wage while you call it a wage and assess it against an industry or even a group of industries. I am, as has already been clearly demonstrated I think from what is said above, very much in

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favor of social allowance by which our political and social institutions will pay for the replacement of the race to those who are replacing the race. There is no reason, there is no justice why the man who is keeping up our social structure, our very civilization itself, should be penalized for his loyalty to the race and for his willingness to shoulder the burdens which others shirk. Not only is this a gross injustice, but as I see it it holds for the future a serious danger. Whatever may

have been the situation in the past there is no use to ignore the inevitable fact that not only the theory but the technical knowledge connected with the doctrine of birth control is growing and will eventually become universal as a possibility—scout it, rail at it, legislate against it as you will. When this becomes true men and women will simply refuse to become poor for the public welfare, and the race will either have to pay for its existence or cease to exist.

## AN ATTACK ON SHANGHAI SLUMS<sup>1</sup>

GUSTAV SCHWENNING

### I

THOSE who consider the industrialization of China as inevitable and desirable regard the transformation that is taking place as real progress.<sup>2</sup> Those, on the other hand, who are familiar with the story of the degradation of the working population incident to the introduction of the factory system in the West and have observed its effect on the workers in China, view this process that is so violently changing the world's oldest existing civilization with considerable and probably just apprehension. One visit to some of the factory districts is sufficient to convince one that China is not only suffering from an acute attack of industrialism but that the illness is serious. And when Bertrand Russell tells us that "China's difficulties are very largely connected with the present industrial situa-

tion,"<sup>3</sup> he is stating the case much too mildly. Certainly it would be difficult, if at all possible, to find in the annals of even England's unhappy experience of over a century ago conditions among the wage earners equally distressing. Wherever the modern factory has been introduced one finds the working people subjected to the most cruel forms of exploitation and degradation, and many depressing reports<sup>4</sup> have appeared recently on the subject with the result that a beginning has been made in labor legislation in certain sections of the country in an effort to alleviate their misery. The growing trade unions, social reform agencies, and in some cases foreign employers are active

<sup>1</sup> The writer was engaged in labor research in China during the winter of 1925-1926.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Dr. C. T. Wang's article, "Industrial Progress in China" in *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, January, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> Bertrand Russell, *The Problem of China*, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> These are particularly interesting: Sherwood Eddy, *The New World of Labor*, Chap. I; C. C. Chu and T. C. Blaisdell, "Peking Rugs and Peking Boys," in *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, April, 1924; Report of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Parliament, *Papers Respecting Labour Conditions in China* (1925); "Labour Conditions and Labour Regulation in China," in *International Labour Review*, December, 1924; Ta Chen, "Labor Conditions in China," in *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1924; P. Henry, "Some Aspects of the Labour Problem" in *International Labour Review*, January, 1927.

in the movement to improve the general conditions of labor.

## II

One of the worst outrages of industrialism in China against humanity is the herding of these workers in noisome slums in the factory districts. I have investigated labor conditions in this country, in England, and in Germany, but nowhere have I found slums so foul and revolting as those in China, and in particular those in Shanghai. Even the Chinese farm laborers' condition, bad as that is, must be recorded as being considerably better than that of the workers in Shanghai. So horrible are they that they beggar description, and the slums of the industrial centers of the Occident have been referred to not inaccurately as palatial residences in comparison. It is questionable whether they have ever been equalled in the western world or in China, except perhaps in times of great national disasters such as famines and floods. These slums have followed in the wake of the modern factory, for it has attracted large numbers of Chinese workers from the rural districts to industrial centers where housing facilities are absent, where the cost of land and buildings and the return on housing investments are exceedingly high, and where wages are much too low. Congestion in these industrial areas with all their squalor, misery, poverty, stench, disease, and untimely death are the inevitable consequence.

Shanghai in particular is cursed with the vilest of these slums. This is due to the fact that Shanghai is not only the largest industrial center in China but in the whole Orient, and one of the great ports of the world. The city is the product of industrialism, for a little over a generation ago the territory it occupies at present consisted of mud flats and rice fields.

Furthermore the city is situated at the mouth of the Yangtze, which is the largest navigable river in China, thus making access to it relatively easy. In times of war, flood, or famine great hordes of refugees find their way to Shanghai and further aggravate the over-crowded housing situation. The commercial and industrial activities, the fame of its wealth, and its geographical location combined have resulted in Shanghai becoming a city of about 2,000,000 people in one generation, a development that rivals even the rapid growth of Chicago. Most of this population consists of industrial workers. If the large army of child workers, the 30,000 ricscha coolies, and the 50,000 wheelbarrow and wharf coolies are included, and they are an important part of Shanghai's workers, the total wage-earning population of the city is estimated to be somewhere near 1,125,000, or approximately 70 per cent of the total number of inhabitants of the city. These people, or seven-tenths of the city's population, are condemned to an inhuman existence in Shanghai's unspeakable slums.

## III

What complicates the problem is the large and steadily growing labor surplus in Shanghai. With more workers than there is work to be done, the struggle for existence is so severe that there are people who will offer themselves for any wage whatsoever.

While considerable statistical data are available, no complete studies have as yet been made of the average earnings of workers in the Shanghai district. It is, however, reported with some degree of certainty that the average monthly income of unskilled workmen is \$7.50 gold,<sup>5</sup> that of the ricscha coolie as low as \$4.00,

<sup>5</sup> All figures used here are in gold.

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while the average cost of living for a man and his wife for the poorest class is usually given as \$8.00 a month.<sup>6</sup> A recent careful investigation<sup>7</sup> shows that the average income of male workers in Shanghai varies between \$5.00 and \$7.50 per month, and that if the earnings of the worker's wife and children are added, the average family income for the month does not exceed \$10.00. This same trained Chinese investigator estimates that of this total not more than one-sixth, or \$1.66, could be spent for shelter, and that actually the majority spend about \$1.00 per month on rent, while a large number of them spend less than fifty cents. Let us see what this money purchases in the way of housing accommodations.

#### IV

Five grades or classes of housing facilities are available for the working classes of Shanghai and are in use by them. The brief description of these grades that follows is based on the findings of a survey conducted by Mr. Tchou<sup>8</sup> and on personal investigation.

The better grade of workers' homes consists of two-storied tenements built in long terraces and separated by narrow passages, frequently not more than six feet wide. Some slight provision is made for drainage. Water is supplied by means of one tap for a whole row of houses. Inadequate oil or electric lamps are placed at long intervals and serve for public illumination. The roof of the houses is of tile, the walls of brick, and the rest of

the building is constructed of wood. Sometimes the floor is built of boards, but usually of brick or cement. The total floor area, both upstairs and downstairs, varies from 400 square feet to 600 square feet. There is a small kitchen at the rear of the house. However, no separate lavatory accommodations are provided even in the best of these homes. These houses rent for from \$3.50 to \$4.50 a month. Since the rent is so very high, earnings so low, and houses are so scarce, as many as two, three, and even four families find it necessary to live together in one of these houses.

The second grade of house, too, consists of tenements built close together in long rows and separated by a narrow passage, but flimsier in construction and without a second story. There are no sanitary provisions of any kind, and the passages between the rows of houses are practically open latrines. Overcrowding exists to a distressing extent. The many children who are reared in these filthy quarters are covered with running sores from dirt and bodily neglect and are subjected to the gravest demoralizing influences. And the rent of these hovels varies from \$1.00 to \$2.00 a month.

Another and worse grade of housing facilities for laborers consists of dormitories operated by private individuals for profit who rent spaces to men without families. This space is a wooden shelf against the wall upon which the worker places his scanty belongings and bedding and upon which he sleeps. At times half a dozen or more men occupy a wide shelf lying close to each other. There is no light or ventilation, except what comes through the door and cracks in the walls. For these accommodations a monthly rent is charged of from fifteen to forty cents. Disease, social evils, and dehumanizing vices abound in these places;

<sup>6</sup> *Papers Respecting Labour Conditions in China*, p. 114.

<sup>7</sup> M. Thomas Tchou, *Outlines of Report on Housing and Social Conditions Among Industrial Workers in Shanghai*, published by National Committee of Y. M. C. A. of China, Shanghai, 1926.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* This report is summarized in *Industrial and Labour Information*, published by the International Labor Office, Geneva, November 8, 1926, pp. 275-277.



vermin overrun them, and sanitation of any sort is unknown in them. Workers in factories, great numbers of ricksha pullers, and many wheelbarrow and wharf coolies "live" in these "homes."

Still another grade of living quarters consists of houses and dormitories built by industries for the use of their own employees. These are provided frequently by cotton mills, and the Japanese mills in Shanghai in particular own a large number of such facilities which are rented to the workers at low rates.

I was particularly interested in the housing accommodations furnished for its working force by the Naigai Wata Kaisha Cotton Spinning Company, the concern in which the Chinese laborer was killed whose death resulted in the unfortunate May 30 incident. An extract from the company's labor policy which refers to these special quarters for the personnel reads: "In order to lighten their hardships we decided to build modern Chinese dwelling homes to accommodate the operatives. Those houses are mostly 2 storeyed and are a distinct improvement upon the old country homes. At present (1924) we have 1883 houses and according to the latest census we have taken, we find the following figures:

|                                    |                |
|------------------------------------|----------------|
| Total number of families...        | 2,326 families |
| Total number of persons...         | 14,285 persons |
| Total number of male adults        | 8,497 persons  |
| Total number of female adults..... | 6,098 persons  |
| Total number of children...        | 2,690 persons  |
| Number of persons per family.....  | 6.16 persons   |
| Number of persons per house.....   | 9.4 persons    |
| Number of families per house.....  | 1.53 families  |

"Although these houses and the ground on which they stand cost us enormous outlay, yet we have carried out this scheme of housing in order to give the

workers sufficient protection and also to relieve the housing problem which was getting very acute in the western district in consequence of the influx of population resultant upon industrial developments." After discussing the chief benefits of this scheme, the policy concludes with this statement: "Suffice it to say that the benefits derived by both the operatives and ourselves have been very great, indeed we are renting these houses at a perfect nominal rental of \$2.00 per 2 storeyed house and \$1.00 per bungalow house. It is easy to see what a boom (sic) this must be to the operatives."

Another company visited in Shanghai, the China Import and Export Lumber Company, had built fairly good Chinese houses for its married workers and an attractive dormitory and club house for its single employees. But such company houses are rare indeed and are provided practically only by foreign employers. Their total number is so small that they relieve the congestion very little, for overcrowding persists even in these company houses. Indeed, the housing quarters of the Naigai Wata Kaisha can hardly be classed as being any better than the second grade of houses described above. These company quarters do, however, add to the total available housing accommodations for workers and they rent at somewhat reduced rates, for which the concerns that make these provisions deserve recognition.

The worst and most shocking grade of living quarters consists of mud huts which afford shelter for a large number of the poorest people in Shanghai. A typical hut is constructed of bamboo poles, having walls covered with matting and mud, and the roof with straw. The floor space is about 8 by 15 feet, and one can barely stand up in it. There is no floor, there are no windows, and at times there is no

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door. When it rains the few household effects float about, and the occupants wade in water and mud. Inclement weather conditions and fire constantly menace the inhabitants of these miserable huts and at frequent intervals fire reduces them to a state of abject poverty and adds them to the growing army of the city's beggars. It is pathetic beyond imagination to see these miserable wretches digging in the ashes after a community has been razed by fire in the hope of retrieving a burned nail or some piece of metal that might be used again. One can see hundreds of discarded open boats converted into dwellings by covering them with pieces of torn matting for roofs. A few scraps of tin and other materials are often used in constructing a shelter. These mud huts and hovels are so close to each other, because of the high costs and rents of land, that one can hardly pick one's way through them. In these places drainage and sanitary provisions are unknown, the people seem to be living in sewers, the water they use frequently comes from puddles that are veritable cesspools. The situation is alarming because an inconceivably large number of Shanghai's population "lives" under these conditions. Indeed, the city is surrounded by a dotted chain of mud hut colonies, probably 50,000 of them, their tenants numbering between 200,000 and 300,000!

A Chinese who has made a detailed study of this desperate situation gives us the following description of these slums.<sup>9</sup>

Here is one of the four or five thousand sheds now found in different parts of Shanghai built of bamboo, mud, lime and straw. The house with six inmates, father, mother and four children, occupies a space of about ten feet by fourteen. The roof built of bamboo, matting and straw, now in a dilapidated state, lined

underneath with soot and cobwebs, lets in water even in a shower. The walls riddled with holes are caving in and afford no privacy and no protection against cold and storm. There is no flooring, everything rests on an uneven mud floor. There is no drainage and no lavatory. The house is surrounded by garbage heaps and cesspools. One's throat becomes inflamed in this neighborhood in ten minutes. On rainy days water contaminated by refuse and manure enters and floods the house to a depth of several inches. After a storm the author has seen the inmates moving about in water and mud up to the knees and little children covered with filth confined to the spaces on beds and chairs. In this place which they call home is to be found their living room, kitchen and bath room all in one. In this particular working community are nearly four hundred such "homes."

These awful slums have also become the favorite resorts of contagious diseases. In summer and early fall cholera, dysentery, malaria and other malignant diseases spread throughout the community unchecked and uncheckable. Consumptives and patients with open sores roam about unattended. The dead are put into coffins that are often laid down in open air, allowing free communication between their contents and the outside.

Since there is no accident and death insurance or compensation, the families of the victims, usually without savings, are obliged to partake of the bitterness of modern industrial civilization. The loss of the rice-earner of the home has often reduced the rest of the family to begging. Beggars have, of course, no homes and no asylums; so they are left to the tender mercies of the street.

## V

This brief account may serve to convey a general impression of the dreadful living conditions of those who toil in Shanghai. No complete picture is possible, a thing which can be gained only from actual inspection, for the full extent of the misery of the slum dwellers and the seriousness of the menace that these pest holes are to the whole community has not as yet been ascertained. Nor is it possible to picture in words or even in photographs the filth and nauseating stench of these foul places.

Among the local social agencies that have been active in the campaign of the past few years to raise labor standards in

<sup>9</sup> M. Thomas Tchou, "Present-Day Conditions Breed Bolshevism," in *The China Press*, February 7, 1926.

general is the Chinese Y. M. C. A. It not only took a prominent part with these organizations in agitating for labor laws to control the exploitation of factory workers, and in particular child workers, but is carrying on a unique practical housing experiment as a protest against the city's slums. The leading spirit back of this project is a brilliant young Chinese who was educated in Europe, Mr. M. Thomas Tchou.<sup>10</sup> Under Mr. Tchou's able leadership an extensive survey was made of the actual living conditions among the poor. On the basis of the shocking facts disclosed, the organization undertook to experiment with a housing scheme that it hopes will result in a movement to eventually eliminate the city's slum districts. The plan is not so much to relieve the shortage of accommodations by furnishing adequate housing facilities, for that would necessitate building a whole city, as to prove by experiment that cheap, comfortable, and sanitary homes can be provided for the poorest workers at a fair return on the investment. If it can be demonstrated that it is a paying proposition to furnish one-family houses of brick and tile at a low rental, this workers' model village will, it is hoped, be the beginning of a movement long needed in Shanghai to check the growth of its evil slums by providing the great mass of the laboring population with decent and adequate housing accommodations. The promoters of the scheme are hopeful because much public interest has already been created by the model village, and one duplicate village has already been started by a local Chinese. Careful attention was given to the cost of land, cost of construction, design of the house, and the rental

that would need to be charged to insure the financial success of the enterprise, for the plan is to have such model villages duplicated throughout the industrial centers of the country, and there seems to be good reason to believe that the project will be successful.

This protest against the herding of human beings is a reality today, for a portion of the workers' model village has been built and is actually in operation. The village is placed in Pootung, one of the important manufacturing suburbs of Shanghai, where about 100,000 people of the poorest class work and live. This part of the city is separated from Shanghai proper by the Yangtze River, which is about a mile wide at this point. As there is no bridge across the river and the people are too poor to take a boat to Shanghai, this large part of the population is cut off from the city and has no benefit of the public service institutions.

Land anywhere in Shanghai is expensive and difficult to secure, so only one acre of land was purchased for the use of the village. On this small parcel of land it is planned to build in all sixty semi-detached cottages, a social center, and to leave a small open space of 50 by 50 feet as a playground for children. The first twelve cottages and the social center are completed and in use. The houses are a story and a half high and have two rooms 10 by 12 feet each besides a kitchen and a separate lavatory. The floor is constructed of cement and is raised one foot above the ground to insure against dampness. The walls are made of brick and the roof of tile, thus reducing the fire hazard. A deep well was drilled to supply water to the village, and a drainage system was provided, for the community furnishes none of these common necessities of life. In order to maintain healthy conditions and guard against the common practice of

<sup>10</sup> The writer had an active part with Mr. Tchou in promoting the campaign for the establishment of the small model village for workers described in the following pages.

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overcrowding, only one family is permitted to occupy each house. The monthly rental of a cottage is \$1.50, thus bringing these homes within the financial reach of very poor families.

The social center, which is the heart of the experiment, is a two story building 30 by 40 feet and is likewise built of brick and a tile roof. It is designed to provide a meeting place for the villagers and for the people in the immediate neighborhood and it will meet a real need as there are no social centers in this section of the city. Practical social work will be carried on in the community through this center. Most of the activities conducted will be in the interest of the young people, and they will include among other activities a baby clinic, a day nursery, and day and evening educational classes for the boys and girls of the district. Indeed, such a program is now in actual operation.

Financial limitations alone retard the immediate completion of the village and its duplication in other industrial centers of the city and country. Land and building materials are the most expensive items,

labor itself being relatively very cheap. It costs about \$150.00 to erect one of these cottages, and the whole model village will cost approximately \$20,000 to establish completely. The funds have been secured in gifts from Chinese and foreigners who are interested in this practical social enterprise. The first six cottages were the gift of the American Friends Service Committee, and Dr. John R. Mott contributed the money for the social center. Local organizations furnished the capital with which to purchase the land and build an additional six homes.

The social significance of this whole project, from the making of the survey of the slums of Shanghai to the actual building and operating of the model village in Pootung, can hardly be overestimated. It is a new departure in the industrial program of the Y. M. C. A. full of promise to the laboring classes. It is a demonstration of applied idealism and internationalism, so badly needed in China today. And it is a declaration of war on slums that are perhaps the worst in the world.

## GUIDES TO PERIODICAL READING

GEORGE B. LOGAN

The eight-hour day of work we take for granted; the sixteen-hour day of leisure, its complement, looms above the horizon an unconsidered quantity. Most of us read, ride, movie, and radio in our hours of ease, as the startling flood of books, magazines, authors, automobiles, foreign tours, film rolls, and crystal sets bear witness. Few of us have discovered the time-killing possibilities of music, the arts, or education, and sport is still chiefly vicarious. But as the masses are thus confronted with "The Menace of Leisure," the "leisure class" of a former generation

have found surcease of ennui in useful work, while rich and well-to-do children are now the most harassed and over-scheduled folk of all. Thus Helen McAfee, not too seriously, in the *May Century*.

There are, says Silas Bent in the *Yale Review* for July, "Two Kinds of News": what people are doing, and what they are buying and selling. Today, in our industrialized society, the second kind has ousted the first from its preëminence. Within fifty years the proportion of "real"

news in our papers has been cut in half,—though not at the expense of sport and crime,—and that of advertisements has doubled, while features have sprung up and the editorial page has lost in literary value and in influence. Moreover, the impress of capitalism upon the selection and emphasis of news has been obvious, and mass advertising has at the same time raised our standard of living and indirectly corrupted our taste in reading. Liberty of the press is an honored mockery.

The New South—industrial—has little in common with the old. Its earlier mill owners were gentlemen with a sense of responsibility to their poorer white neighbors; the present generation are capitalists, who screen their exploitation of cheap labor behind welfare work and company unions. As in England a century ago, so here the struggle of the common good against individualism is being enacted. And the results will be the same, although the churches and colleges have done their best to cloud the issues of industrialism with anachronistic laments over poverty and irrelevant boasts of *noblesse oblige*. For despite its faults and cruelty industrialism, declares Broadus Mitchell in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* for April, is the road to freedom and fuller living. "Flesh-pots of the South" will prove symbols of its final renunciation of the old tradition, and its assumption of a major if difficult rôle in the material civilization of America.

Today in America, as in all other times and places, there stand opposed to each other the two systems known as "Agriculture and Moneyculture"; and today, as in other periods of decadence, the second seems in danger of swallowing up the first. Farming, insists Virgil Jordan in the *March Forum*, is not a business, nor a

profession, nor a means of making money, but a way of life and self-sufficiency and happiness that has little in common with an industrialized, urbanized society. To force the countryman, one of the finest and most ancient of human types, into an alien mold, to corrupt him with the ambitions and ideals of his city brother, and to measure him by commercial standards, is to destroy rural life altogether. The land must be made again our ultimate spiritual resource, or we shall soon cease to be a nation of men.

Cotton in the United States and elsewhere—the rise of its importance, the present world demand, competitive types, and recent changes in acreage and yield per acre—is dealt with by A. B. Cox in the *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* for June. In the near future the southeast, he forewarns, will suffer a much larger reduction of acreage than the southwest. . . . "Significant Tendencies in European Society," according to Caleb P. Patterson in the same issue, are organized international coöperation, the breakdown of parliamentary government, a new and unpredictable industrialism, and a turning away from materialism to intellectual interests.

Unemployment conceived as a vicious triangle of worker, employer, and family case-work agency, and a survey made of all three aspects of the problem by the St. Louis Provident Association, are the themes of a prize-winning paper by Julia Alsberg in the *Survey* for June 15. . . . Taking for text the Trades Disputes Bill that has led to such a stormy debate in England, George E. G. Catlin discourses widely on "Strikes and the Rights of the Community". . . . Manumit School in the Berkshires, a laboratory of education and living for the children of manual workers, is described by Nellie M. Seeds.



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## LIBRARY AND WORK SHOP

Special Book Reviews by HARRY ELMER BARNES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER,  
PHILLIPS BRADLEY, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

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### RURAL SOCIETY

BRUCE MELVIN

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL LIFE. By Horace Boris  
Hawthorn. New York: The Century Co., 1926.  
517 pp.  
RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By Carl C. Taylor. New York:  
Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1926. 509 pp.

A new note in rural sociology has been struck by Dr. Hawthorn in his *Sociology of Rural Life*. The new idea that has been injected here into the subject is social-



ization, which seems to mean the number of contacts furnished through institutions in rural communities. This term, "socialization," says the author, "like culture, is one of those complex abstractions which possess a host of meanings and which must be reduced to concrete formulation in order to make their various meanings sharp and clear" (p. 39). This concept is applied to individuals, and the process of socialization manifests certain characteristics: expansion of the self; development of personality, development of latent talent and evolution of wholesome attitudes.

From these general notions the author has created a method of measuring the efficiency of communities in terms of the contacts furnished to individuals through the institutional and organizational activities. The social contact *unit*, the unit of measurement contrived and employed "was defined as the exposure or contact of a person, for approximately one hour, to an event or situation which had definite socializing value" (p. 71). Events in selected communities were evaluated on this contact basis, and by bringing together all the contacts furnished in one community and comparing same with other communities the measure of socialization furnished was determined.

With this idea underlying the whole volume the author discusses such problems as the rural standard of living, population, economic conditions, influence of geographic factors, psychology of rural life, the institutions of rural life, and means of community organization. In doing this an immense amount of data has been collected and employed; and just there appears the greatest weakness of the book.

Much of the information thus utilized is extraneous to the dominating idea of socialization; the volume has an appear-

ance about it that would indicate that its author feared something would be omitted. Furthermore, the manner in which the work is written suggests that it is essentially a collection of class lectures, and because of this it has exceedingly stimulating suggestions and very loose statements; the first is expressive of intense idealism and the second of middle-western folk thinking. Yet, with these defects which detract from it as a scientific publication the volume is destined to make a real contribution to the content and methodology of rural sociology.

The subtitle of Dr. Taylor's book *A Story of Rural Problems* expresses what the contents really are. The problems that prevail in rural life, especially in the institutions and organization are clearly and cogently presented. Furthermore, after a careful examination the reader is not left feeling that everything is wrong in rural life, as the constructive methods that are in operation are considered and evaluated.

A long and detailed discussion of our economic problems is omitted, which makes a distinct advancement in the thinking on rural sociology. Economic problems are not sociological problems, and here is an author who has perceived the fact. Indeed, it is hoped that more of our writers will follow the lead of Dr. Taylor and extricate themselves from reliance on the economists for subject matter and embark upon a new venture—rural sociology.

The volume manifests careful, systematic, and sustained collection of facts over a period of years, and from various parts of the country. Data are compiled from original work of the author and from many other fruitful sources. In these respects it fulfills the function of a text book which it really is.

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and recreation receive treatment as problems very much as has been the case in other books on rural life, but the means whereby these problems are being wrestled with in society are fully discussed. Besides these the author has not neglected to add facts of relationship like the farmer and his community, the farmer and his town, and rural government. The esthetic receives its consideration in a careful scrutiny of the place of art in rural life. In the treatment of subject matter a decided advancement has been made over previous text books.

If science is an analysis of the mechanisms involved in the cause and effect relationships of the entities of life, then this publication is not a book of science. The work is very largely descriptive and not analytical which is the heart of science. Also no decidedly new viewpoint is manifested. Yet, the data now available in the field of problems are brought up to date and in that the author has made a welcome contribution.

REGIONAL SOCIOLOGY. By Radhakamal Mukerjee. New York: Century, 1926. x, 287 pp. \$3.00.

Khaldun, Buckle, Semple, Montesquieu, Ratzel, Vidal de la Blache, Huntington and others have studied the relation between physical and social conditions. These, however, according to Mukerjee, have failed to make sufficiently clear that the physical environment of man imposes upon human society "typical manners," and govern not only his interests and habits but also his social organization, serving as "a selective agency for social habits and activities." There should be developed a "regional" sociology, which this volume seeks to initiate, which will give "a more comprehensive classification of social types with reference to their ecology and successive stages, and which will harmonize the abstract and discon-

nected studies of different phases of cultural evolution, [comparing] natural classes and types in the light of the history of their development and their stage in that history."

The following chapter headings, selected from among the fifteen, indicate something of the content of the book: "Relation of human to plant and animal distribution;" "Region, food, and race;" "The regional basis of social types;" "The correspondence between economic and social types;" "The effect of economic on political relations," "The economic relations between advanced and backward regions." From time to time generalizations are given which, while not new, are valuable to restate in this connection. (Examples on pages 82 and 206.)

Attention should perhaps be called to an occasional loose use of concepts which have come to have a definite meaning in the literature of Sociology, e.g., *mores* (p. 82) and *social heritage* (p. 91).

The author quite properly points out what has been a common and justifiable criticism of general sociology in America, viz., that it tends to be too exclusively confined to western civilization. It is a distinct advantage to have a volume on such a subject as this, which would be much impoverished by being so confined in its outlook, come from one who is familiar by nativity with eastern civilization as well. Incidentally, while familiar with American writers, he introduces his readers to a number of authors not often quoted in the pages of American Sociology: Cuenot, Newbiggin, Brunhes, Vallaux, Enock, Woeikof, Febvre, Sarkar, Cureau, Petrucci, Ogata, and others.

More significant still is the fact that with this volume, the scholarship of the Far East consciously invades the stronghold of what has been called, sometimes contemptuously, the American Science.

Let us hope that this is the forerunner of many another eastern contribution to the understanding of the interactions of mankind, which, however regionally

influenced, are universal in their fundamentals.

EARLE EDWARD EUBANK.

*University of Cincinnati.*

## THE NEWSPAPER

MALCOLM M. WILLEY

WHAT IS NEWS? By Gerald White Johnson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926. 98 pp.

NEWSPAPER MANAGEMENT. By Frank Thayer. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1926. xxi, 481 pp.

GETTING THE NEWS. By William S. Maulsby. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925. 310 pp.

These three books, covering separate aspects of newspaper production, serve to emphasize an important gap in the literature of sociology, namely, that as yet there is no comprehensive volume that makes any pretense of analysis of the newspaper as a social institution. It is hard to understand why this field of research has been subjected to so little intensive study. For material dealing with the newspaper, as it affects social life, one is forced to pore through widely scattered publications, gleaning a little insight here, and a little more, there. These three books stand as typical examples of the fragmentary material now available.

The volume by Johnson raises some really significant questions, and suggests the type of sociological study that must be undertaken before the newspaper can be understood. The volume is little more than an outline, but in it are included enough suggestive problems to occupy for some time the attention of sociologists interested in public opinion and the influence of the newspaper. News, it is concluded, is anything that a firstclass newspaper man writes about, and the author seeks to show what are the factors

that influence the newspaper man in his work. In a provocative manner Johnson analyzes the barriers that the news-writer must face: barriers set by the craft itself, barriers determined by the reading public, and barriers that the newspaper as an institution presents. Without using the language of the sociologist, Johnson is actually discussing the social pressures that shape the material that we call "news."

The first sentence of Thayer's book, *Newspaper Management*, reads: "Newspapers are no stronger than their financial resources," and the opening line of the first chapter is "Men produce newspapers for commercial gain." This gives the cue to the book. It is devoted to a consideration of the efficient production of the newspaper—on the business office side—and covers such topics as circulation development, circulation policy and promotion, proved circulation, local, national, and classified advertising, office management, correspondence, newspaper accounting, plant management, newspaper financing, and concludes with two chapters on newspaper enterprise and editorial policy. It is a thoroughly useful volume for the newspaper publisher, and sociologists interested in the press will gain much insight into the commercial side of journalism, and the significance of the modern newspaper as a business enterprise, through reading it.

The volume by Maulsby is a conventional handbook for the student of journal-

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ism. Following a general chapter on the theory of the modern newspaper, there are sections dealing with news values, reporters, gathering of news, and methods of handling different types of news. The book can be read profitably by anyone who is unfamiliar with the methods employed in gathering together the varied material that fills the columns of the newspaper of today.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By L. L. Bernard. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1926. x, 631 pp. \$3.60.

This book is frankly an effort to put social psychology upon an objective plane in terms of modern psychology and social science. Although the author is a professor of sociology he is fully cognizant of recent developments in the fields of physiology and psychology. In line with his previous exhaustive study of the theories of instinct, in which he exposed the uselessness of that concept for either psychology or sociology, he has attacked the problem of social psychology from the angle of the important contributions of Child in physiology and Herrick in neurology, on the one hand, and from the work in objective psychology, on the other. And yet he does not rest his case purely upon physiology, neurology and psychology. He is too fully aware of the importance of sociological, that is cultural, influences in human behavior to fall into this particularistic fallacy. Thus, upon a dual foundation of modern biological science (including psychology under this rubric) and of sociological or cultural standpoint, he essays to present the principles of social psychology. While the book may lack the concrete detail of illustration which might be wished, it does offer the student a point of departure for excursions into concrete problems of the social behavior of individuals.

The book is divided into four major parts. The first division deals with the general nature of science and with the various phases of social psychology. The author reviews the previous attempts to formulate social psychology by Ross, McDougall, Ellwood, Williams, Gault, Dunlap, Bogardus and Allport. His own tentative definition of the field is stated thus: "Social psychology studies the behavior of individuals in a psycho-social situation. This behavior is valid subject matter for social psychology whether it conditions or is conditioned by other social behavior or responses. It is also concerned with all collective responses, that is, responses of individuals which mutually and reciprocally condition each other and those which are uniform throughout the group, regardless of what environment they arise from." The author insists throughout on the importance of what he terms the psycho-social environment, that is, the environment of other persons carrying with them the accretions of their particular cultures.

In Part II the discussion hinges around the foundations of collective behavior. Bernard traces the bases of social behavior to their biological roots, but he is particularly emphatic, following the standpoint of Child, on the place which the environment plays in directing the course of the development of man in his social relations. He reviews his earlier work on the doctrine of instincts and shows again how utterly invalid is a social psychology based upon any mere categorical array of instincts compounded together to form the full-grown personality. The principal stress is upon habit and attitude which are everywhere conditioned by other persons and their cultural heritage.

Part III deals in more detail with the integration of the personality in the psycho-social environment. The place of suggestion and imitation are well indi-

cated, both by direct means and especially by the indirect and projected suggestion and imitation of ideal persons and social concepts. While one may wonder why the author after so thoroughly demolishing the concept of instinct for social psychology should retain the almost as outworn concept imitation, it must be said that careful reading of the text shows that the word *imitation* is given a specific meaning in terms of learning and conditioning which follow the lead of objective psychology. Until we secure a more adequate term to describe the phenomena of like actions among people, one may defend the use of the term when it is carefully circumscribed in its usage.

Part IV treats the relation of the psychosocial environment to collective behavior. Following Cooley's incisive analysis of primary and secondary (derivative) groups, the writer discusses various forms of group action. Groups are of direct and indirect "contact" sort, and, moreover, they divide along the psychological dimensions of rationality and non-rationality. Rational groups are the type seen in deliberative assemblies, discussion groups and classroom participants. Non-rational groups are seen in the touch-and-go type of crowd, the mob and the like.

Collective behavior is everywhere influenced by the state of communication and by the sorts and qualities of leadership. So too, collective action is affected both by non-institutional and institutional controls. The former are typified by fads, fashions, crazes and transient conventions, the latter by the family, the state, the church and other forms of the regularized social order.

In the final chapter, aside from a summary of his standpoint and treatment, the author indicates his belief that the study of social psychology should con-

cern itself, first, with a careful "analysis of the psycho-social environment in terms of the processes operating to provide stimuli to the responding individual" and secondly, with a study of the "organization of behavior patterns in the individual himself." Only by this double approach does he believe that a sound science of social psychology can be established.

KIMBALL YOUNG.

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CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Louis E. Bisch, M.D., Ph.D. The Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, 1925. xiv, 346 pp. chart. \$3.00.

This is a medico-psychological text-book for non-medical students. It covers the ground suitably and usefully for special and regular teachers, social workers, hospital workers, but does not contain enough analytic material for the instruction of psychiatric social workers or physicians. It is largely descriptive and classificatory. There is occasionally a highly technical word left unexplained, and both typography and grammar leave points to be desired. The book is rather overloaded with quotations. Most of them, however, are good quotations and if they were omitted there would be not enough left of the book.

The pictures of cases scattered through the book (presumably with consent of guardians) doubtless help to sell the book, but for teaching purposes they would be more serviceable if correlated with the appropriate case studies in the appendix, or at least with the appropriate chapter of the text. Both the case studies and the pictures might have rendered greater value if appended to their respective chapters.

A thorough outline for case studies is given, which compares interestingly with the outline prepared by the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research. The staffing

of cases seems conspicuous by its absence in this outline.

A wholesome caution is shown in the acceptance of test results, especially for affective qualities, as bases for diagnoses; the ways of responding are recognized as being almost as useful as the grade made. In the listing of tests, Jung's work is not mentioned among the association tests.

The importance of intimate social facts as an essential to thorough diagnosis is perhaps not fully recognized.

Normality is used inconsistently, as is usual—sometimes to mean the average, sometimes to mean the healthy, socially adjusted or acceptably standardized. Genius of speed is not distinguished from genius of quality or combination; and the discussion of "genuine precocity" is a bit question-begging. The recommendations for the care of the precocious are good.

In the discussion of amentia it seems misleading to identify too closely the mentation of adult feeble-mindedness with that of normal childhood. The aspects of genius, insanity, and amentia which depend upon social conditions and standards of judgment are somewhat recognized. The distinction between insanity and mental disease is not, however, consistently maintained.

The author also preserves the distinction between "organic" and "functional" defects and diseases; this is acceptable if the physical basis of the functional is explained. Several defects are listed, however, as "organic" which might easily be "functional."

It is to be noted that the increase of medical knowledge and educational skill obliges us to classify as *merely retarded* more and more of the children previously called "*backward*:" so soon as the condition becomes known—to-be-removable by environmental means, the difference in

behavior must be attributed rather to a lack of difference in environment than to the difference in heredity.

The author shows considerable confusion, or confusing terminology, on points involving the relations between heredity and environment (pp. 36, 68, 90, 98, 101, 117, 146, 163-9, 215, 217).

The brief chapter on "moral deviation" is rather unsatisfactory. In spite of his acceptance of Healy's views in respect to "moral sense" the author does not clearly eschew the idea of biologically heritable criminality.

"Social Problems" are recognized in a very mixed and sketchy final chapter of six pages, including prisons, *The Journal of Criminal Law*, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene of the Rockefeller Institute (sic.) eugenics (including marriage laws) and sterilization. According to Bisch "Unfortunately it is still a prevalent notion that the feeble-minded are harmless." The sweeping statements of the moron fans to the effect that feeble-mindedness is a unit character and that two feeble minded cannot produce a normal child, should have been taken with more caution. Even the Kallikaks are still accepted by Bisch.

In view of the admittedly non-hereditary nature of some amentias and the difficult diagnosis of others, Bisch's indiscriminating acceptance of the drastic recommendations of the "eugenic" sterilization program are surprising. Bisch fails to raise the question as to whether adolescent morons should or can be taught birth control in connection with their sex education, because he believes they should all be either segregated or sterilized. He ignores the town-colony plan in operation in New York State, which is less expensive than the farm-colony, for certain groups.

THOMAS D. ELIOT.

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## TOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

W. B. SANDERS

- THE EQUIPMENT OF THE SOCIAL WORKER. By Elizabeth Macadam. New York: Holt, 1925. 224 pp.
- SOCIAL WORK, A FAMILY BUILDER; A TEXTBOOK FOR NURSES, DIETITIANS, HOME DEMONSTRATION AGENTS, HOME ECONOMISTS, AND SPECIAL TEACHERS. By Harriet Townsend. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1926. 247 pp. \$2.25.
- DELINQUENTS AND CRIMINALS: THEIR MAKING AND UNMAKING. By William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner. New York: Macmillan, 1926. 317 pp. \$3.50.
- THE PROBLEMS OF CHILDHOOD. By Angelo Patri. New York: Appleton, 1927. 309 pp. \$2.00.

In *The Equipment of the Social Worker* the author has covered the field of training for social work in England in somewhat similar fashion, yet hardly so well as Dr. Tufts has covered the American field in his recent book *Education and Training for Social Work*. Miss Macadam's book is written almost altogether from the standpoint of the administrative head of a school of training for social work; consequently, to a lay person, and even to the ordinary run of social worker, it provides at best rather dry reading.

After tracing the development of social training from its beginning in a social settlement in 1890 down to 1924, the author launches forth into a discussion of the university as the proper training center for social work. The advantages of the university in this respect are that it gives "a wider outlook and more liberal attitude of mind than can ever be attained in the best of non-academic schemes of vocational training," and, also, that university control provides a guarantee against the real danger of political or other forms of bias and propaganda. On the other hand the university atmosphere is hardly favorable to an intensive program of practical work. The majority of the schools offer two year courses of training, the first year

embracing the general courses, while the second year offers opportunity for specialization. The English universities are inclined to give diplomas rather than degrees for such work.

The chapter devoted to the author's impressions of the schools of social work in this country, gained in the course of a hasty visit, as well as her comparison of English and American methods of training, differences of viewpoint, etc., provide the chief source of interest of the book to American social workers. On the whole, Miss Macadam finds the American schools are "more strictly professional, whether inside or outside the university," have more adequate equipment, and have developed to a greater extent a technique of social treatment. On the other hand, the cold-blooded use by American social workers of the terms "case," and "case work," as applied to human beings unreasonably exasperates the British social worker. "The best type of 'case worker' is endowed with inborn gifts, and will gain her experience in actual work, not in the class-room dissection of case papers."

*Social Work, a Family Builder*, a readable little book, makes an excellent introduction to social work. While the secondary title leads one to expect a rather technical text-book for nurses, dietitians, etc., as a matter of fact, the book is general enough in its discussions to serve as an introduction to any type of social work that follows the case work method.

The introductory chapters on the backgrounds of social work are too general and lacking in continuity to give the reader a clear-cut picture of the conditions responsible for the rise of social work. In Chapter V, however, the author is thoroughly at home in contrasting ancient

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and modern methods in present-day practice. A woman's club enthusiastically takes under its wing a family in which are found the problems of feeble-mindedness, desertion, child labor, begging, and ill health. The women soon become disgusted, however, over the seeming lack of appreciation on the part of the family they are trying to help, as well as the hopelessness of the situation, and turn the case over to the family welfare society. A trained case worker then analyzes each of the difficulties into its causative factors, and applies the proper social treatment. Chapters XI and XII which take up in detail the diagnosis and treatment of a family problem—tuberculosis of the father—by a family welfare society, are exceptionally well done, and furnish a picture of family case work at its best. Chapter VI which treats of the origins of the family seems somewhat out of place in a text-book describing the work of social agencies to-day.

On the whole this little book makes an excellent companion volume to Miss Richmond's *What Is Social Case Work?*, and should prove of interest and value not only to apprentice and volunteer social workers, but to the general reading public.

In his monumental work *The Individual Delinquent*, Dr. Healy made the first comprehensive and scientific attempt to evaluate the causative factors of juvenile delinquency. In the field of *diagnosis* of juvenile delinquency Dr. Healy has, perhaps, no equal. In the present study *Delinquents and Criminals*, Dr. Healy forsakes the field of diagnosis, and, still blazing the way, attempts to evaluate the present methods of *treatment* of juvenile delinquency through a statistical analysis of the outcome of certain series of cases of repeated offenders handled by the Chicago and the Boston juvenile courts. To one familiar with Dr. Healy's earlier

work, this latest production comes as a distinct disappointment. The authors of *Delinquents and Criminals* have made a distinct contribution to the field of study of juvenile offenders to be sure, but on the whole the book shows every indication of having been written hastily, there is considerable repetition of results set forth in earlier works, and the extreme refinement of the use of the statistical method frequently leads to unwarranted conclusions.

The authors point out in the introduction that despite the elaborate equipment and tremendous expenditures involved in handling juvenile offenders through our juvenile courts, no serious study has been made of the effectiveness of that treatment. We do not know, for instance, what proportion of delinquent children passing through our juvenile courts succeed, nor do we know the proportion who fail to adjust and later become criminals. Still less have we attempted to follow the treatment step by step, and to analyze the process of treatment to see what measures succeeded and what measures failed. This study of outcomes of several series of repeated juvenile delinquents handled by the Chicago and the Boston juvenile courts is the first attempt to evaluate on a large scale the effectiveness of juvenile court treatment, and this attempt, whether we agree with the authors in all their conclusions or not, is a real contribution to social work.

The method of study of outcome of the cases, which so vitally affects the conclusions, is hastily passed over with the statement that in the Chicago cases homes were visited, social agencies consulted, court and institution records searched. We must take the authors on faith as to how thoroughly the follow-up work was done, though they admit that the figures for the court appearances were undoubtedly incomplete for the Chicago group.

For studying the outcome of the Boston cases, the records of the Massachusetts Probation Commission were the chief source of information. In both cities outcome was counted as Success "when the individual was living in the community without known detriment to the community, and had engaged in no criminality." On the other hand, "Failure denoted actual delinquency. All individuals having adult court records and adjudged guilty, as well as those committed to adult correctional institutions, were regarded as Failures. . . . A few were regarded as Failures who, though not known to have been arrested, were an actual drag on the community, vagrants, excessive drinkers, extreme loafers, those grossly immoral and thus indirectly costly to society."

Now for the results. Out of a total of 675 cases followed up in Chicago, 302 or 45 per cent were counted as Successes, and 373 or 55 per cent were counted as Failures. The proportion of Failures is appalling! Yet, lest we become too discouraged, it should be pointed out again that these delinquents were not the ordinary run of juvenile court cases, but were "hard-boiled" repeaters, who, presumably had been treated unsuccessfully already for varying lengths of time by the juvenile court, and had been referred to Dr. Healy as a last resort. It may be of interest to add that the females were successes in 54 per cent of their cases as compared with 39 per cent Successes among the males. Of the male Failures 5 per cent were guilty of homicides, and 15 per cent were "reported" as professional criminals. Of the female Failures 94 were sex offenders.

The outcome of a series of juvenile delinquents in Boston is likewise traced for purposes of comparison. In Chicago 37 per cent of the delinquents studied were subsequently sent to adult correctional

institutions, while in Boston only 6 per cent were handled in this way. The juvenile delinquents who had later on adult court records was as high as 50 per cent for the Chicago group, while Boston had only 21 per cent of such cases. Although there are numerous factors to be considered in explaining the great difference in outcome of cases in the two cities, the authors are apparently correct in assuming that the highly developed parole system in Massachusetts plays an outstanding part in the comparatively successful outcome of the Boston cases.

The book would have been much more convincing if the authors had been content to stop just here. The study is considerably weakened by the attempt to correlate certain physical, mental, and social conditions of the delinquents with success or failure in outcome. It is difficult to understand why the same author who, in an earlier work, set forth so clearly the multiplicity of causation of juvenile delinquency, should attempt in a discussion of social treatment to pick out such discrete social conditions as religion, nationality, marriage, etc., and evaluate their relationship to successful outcome apart from numerous other factors. It would appear just as reasonable to draw conclusions from a correlation of red-headedness or freckles with successful outcome.

On the whole it appears that the conclusions, as justified by an analysis of the data presented, could have been set forth quite adequately in an extended magazine article, rather than expanded into a book which is so obviously padded.

*The Problems of Childhood* was awarded by *Children, The Magazine for Parents*, the first annual medal for the best book for parents by an American author published during 1926. The book was written, however, from the viewpoint of a school teacher in a large city, and, while it has

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much of value for parents, it should prove even more helpful to elementary teachers.

At last we have a book on child psychology that does not smack of psychology. It is neither technical nor abstract, but is charmingly simple in its approach. The book consists of one hundred and forty "problems"—each taking up about a page and a half—presented in a literary form which is a combination of short story, case example, and essay, with a slight tendency to moralize.

While the author has made no original contribution to the field of child psychology, he has clothed old truths in a new form, idealized the common-place, and presented in a delightfully informal way many practical suggestions and hints for parents and teachers, and other adults, who should have an intimate and sympathetic insight into the emotional, social and mental life of the child. The book does not readily lend itself to class-room use.

### THE MOTHER OF PARLIAMENTS FROM WITHIN

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

**A SPEAKER'S COMMENTARIES.** By The Right Honorable James William Lowther, Viscount Ullswater, G.C.B. London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1925. 2 vols. ix, 340, 312 pp. New York: Longmans Green & Co. \$12.00.

**FIFTY YEARS OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.** By the Earl of Oxford and Asquith. Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1926. 2 vols. viii, 306, 308 pp. \$8.00.

**THE PUBLIC LIFE.** By J. A. Spender. London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1925. 2 vols. xxiii, 236, 232 pp. 30/.

As autobiographies, the first two of this trilogy on the "great game of politics" as it is played in England are disappointing. Mr. Lowther, for almost two decades Mr. Speaker, and for a longer time before a private member, has given us a bare chronicle of the years as they came and went in Parliament and out, noting here and there some of the implications of politics, but rarely sharing any glimpses of the real forces at work behind the scenes where he must of necessity have had intimate relations with the chief actors and stage assistants. Mr. Herbert Asquith, for as the Commoner who held the Premiership longer than any one else for a century he will be known to history rather than as the Earl of Oxford, displays

a similar restraint in offering further details than are pretty generally known already about the events and policies of the thirty years before 1914.

Mr. Spender's book might almost be called a biography of politics. For the distinguished editor of the *Westminster Gazette* knew the men who shaped events and the details of the parliamentary game they played as well as any of our contemporaries. And he here sets down the knowledge he has accumulated in chapters illuminating and urbane. It will rank with Walter Bagehot's *The English Constitution* as a classic description of the period of which he has written so acutely.

The Speakership of the House of Commons is the direct antithesis of ours, at least before "the revolution of 1910." But the spirit of the older tradition has been hard to kill—or sublimate—and we have not yet achieved a conception of presiding which makes of the English Speaker a referee rather than a player of the parliamentary game. Of the duties of the office, Mr. Lowther has comparatively little to say: "The Speaker is the pivot on which the whole machinery of the House of Commons turns. Highly

honored and respected (outwardly at all events), his word in his own sphere is law. The final decision affecting the conduct of business rests with him. He is brought into contact with all the chief personages of the time. To him is allocated a fine house, well appointed and cared for, at which the rate-collector never calls." And yet, "The feeling of restraint, of compulsion, of being tied, of want of freedom is great." He had to listen to about fifty thousand speeches during his Speakership, though "not all with the same rapt attention." He quotes "The Rolliad," referring to an earlier Speaker:

Like sad Prometheus fastened to the rock  
In vain he looks for pity to the clock.

The qualities which make Mr. Speaker acceptable to the House are chiefly patience and tact; and as an Irish member admonished Mr. Lowther "courage." He can depend on his Clerk—Sir Courtney Ilbert was the distinguished holder of the office during Mr. Lowther's Speakership—for much advice on rulings, but still he must know his May's "Precedents" and the ultimate responsibility for the bulk of rulings rests squarely on his shoulders. And in the course of every session there are many personal and factional disputes and demands which have to be settled. It is an interesting commentary on the workings of the Parliamentary system that Mr. Lowther voted, to break a tie, only once during his seventeen years in office. And he contributed to the solution of a number of minor issues in the practice of House—the precedence of the Speaker was raised at his suggestion. And the use of the Speaker's Conference was revived on a number of issues, Home Rule, Elections, Reform of the House of Lords, Devolution. It is a convenient device for transcending party lines and seeking a compromise that

will find acceptance on the floor of the House. It is perhaps the one vestige of real influence left to Mr. Speaker, since he presides in fact as well as name, and exercises some initiative in the selection of members. The fact that it has been called an "unconstitutional device" in debate testifies to its importance and influence.

Mr. Asquith begins his account with the year 1868, but his own first election to Parliament came in 1886—the earlier years are based on acquaintance with the chief actors rather than on actual participation. And both before and after his own entrance to the House, he gives us very little that is new or even original in interpretation. His restraint is only less evident in the two chapters which deal with the Ulster Rebellion and the House of Lords Bill, issues in which he was the pilot of the ship of state and about which he possesses unrivalled knowledge. They are by all means the two best sections of his Parliamentary chronicle, but even these accounts are tantalizingly inconclusive.

The Parliament Act of 1910-1911 was the last great constitutional crisis in the evolution of Parliament toward the complete sovereignty of the people's elected representatives. The main outlines of the struggle are well known; the gradual swing of opinion in the upper house to a realization of the futility of continuing the struggle, the last minute attempt to stave off extinction of their power by proposing an alternative plan, the last ditch stand of the "Dichards." The most important new light which Mr. Asquith throws on the issue is his denial that there was any "understanding with Edward VII in the first stages of the passage (1910) of the bill in regard to the creation of new Peers to carry the measure in the Lords.

The Irish Crisis, precipitated by the threat of armed resistance in Ulster, was one of the questions on which the Liberal Government has been most severely criticized. The ultimate failure to prosecute Sir Edward Carson and the other leaders, a step legally correct and supported by a large wing of English opinion, was not undertaken for two reasons. Mr. Asquith doubted the chances of securing a conviction from an Irish jury—"a foregone conclusion" in his mind. Further, the Nationalist leaders deprecated any criminal proceedings "on the ground that such a step could do no good, and that it would inevitably secure for the victims an invaluable and much coveted place in the annals of Irish martyrology."

In the last half of the second volume with "great game" in Parliament, Mr. Asquith has contributed little that is new or very profound to the discussion of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, Patronage, Offices and Pensions, or Parliament itself. He does not view the emergence of a third party as temporary or a dangerous innovation, but rather as a useful expedient for bringing out the real interests of various groups and giving them voice on the floor. It is interesting that the Conservative writer of the "Commentaries" favors proportional representation for the same reasons.

But it is not as chronicles that these two books are chiefly valuable or interesting, but rather as portraits of times that will never return, when the House of Commons was a more or less exclusive club inhabited by younger sons from Oxford and Cambridge. And it was in the spirit and atmosphere of a club that the British Empire was ruled. We catch here glimpses, often delightfully intimate of the young men who came up in their twenties to the House, held seats almost by inheritance, and learned the rules of the game

and the spirit of the House. The rules were largely those of good sportsmanship, and the spirit often, if not always, rose to a real sense of the responsibilities committed to the Commons. These are perhaps the last flowers of late Victorian Parliamentary reminiscence—flowers all the more worth cherishing for their delicate and altogether typical aroma of an age that will not return. The new masters of the game of British politics have created new rules and apply them in a new atmosphere.

The contrast between the old and the new in men and manners parliamentary has been brilliantly and imperishably sketched in the two volumes of Mr. Spender. After a brief resumé of the rise and evolution of the Cabinet in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Mr. Spender draws a number of characters on the political stage with a skillful brush and incisive clarity. Compare Bright with Asquith, or Palmerston with Lloyd George, and you have the contrast in men without the necessity of an elaborate psychological study. And Mr. Spender's sketches leave little to be desired in their deftness or lucidity.

Mr. Spender knows best the period covered by the other two writers and he describes it as one in which the "sporting code" was applied "to a large part of their (British politicians') abilities." But he brings into sharp relief the changes which a widened suffrage and new issues have brought about in the rules and the players. Nothing denotes this change more clearly than the new alliance of press and politician. "The Press might get on without politics, but politics cannot get on without the Press. The newspaper creates the type of politician it wants, and the politician helps the newspaper to perpetuate the type. The essential thing seems to be some capacity of



projecting themselves (public men) on the screen of the public mind. It may be a homely picture or it may be a heroic picture, but it must be a picture, and its outline must not be blurred or vague." He thinks that the owner of a chain of newspapers "has a power over the mind and thought of the entire community which far exceeds that of the most powerful patrons of rotten boroughs in prereform days." Trustification has gone further in this field in England than with us, but signs are not wanting that we face an intensified form of the same kind of news control and a censorship much more subtle than any official control.

Unlike his party chief, Mr. Spender views with misgiving and even a certain amount of alarm the emergence of the Labor Party. He is committed to the theory of the two party system. He is a Liberal to the core, and displays both the strength and the weakness of the Golden Mean which it represents. He questions whether the "center of gravity (of the Labor Party) is to be inside of Parliament or outside it," but he fails to weigh the reasons why so large a section of the British electorate chose the alternative of separate action. The ultimate sterility of

Liberal leadership in the field of social amelioration drove millions of his countrymen to seek new captains in the Parliamentary game. The dangers of group government are plainly set forth, and Mr. Spender is willing to accept proportional representation to make the chances even. He gives us finally a challenging definition of the Liberal faith, "The public life becomes meaningless and statesmanship a vain thing, unless it is boldly assumed that man is in some sort master of his fate and can control events to ends that may be called righteous." The two greatest obstacles to such ends today are Property and Nationalism. Mr. Spender thinks that Liberal leadership in the public life gives greatest hope for their solution.

He has written the most informed and informing book about British politics which we have had in many years. It defines the ideals and describes the technique of the game as it is played in England today, and paints the background with a sure and skillful touch. It is a portrait of politics that preserves a period and will survive as the most authentic portrayal of the Liberal art of ruling—and being ruled.

## EUROPE AND AMERICA

CHESTER P. HIGBY

EUROPE SINCE 1870. By E. R. Turner. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1927. 776 pp. \$3.50.

HISTOIRE DE FRANCE. By A. Malet. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1927. 489 pp. \$3.00.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By J. H. Latané. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1927. 725 pp. \$4.00.

This new work of Professor Turner is a revision of the well-known book brought out six years ago. Both the revised edition and the original work were

based largely upon his *Europe Since 1789*, which appeared in 1920. While the author has kept up with the mass of new material which has appeared since the war, his most recent book shows little change in subject matter, organization, and point of view.

The new work, therefore, has the virtues and defects of the two books on which it is based. The introductory chapters are fresh and stimulating. The

bibliographies are helpful. The series of maps are the best to be found in any series. In places, though, the style is awkward and jejune. Post-war Europe might profitably have been given a more extended treatment.

*The Histoire de France* of A. Malet is the first of a series of books to be published by Doubleday, Page and Company in collaboration with the French house Librairie Hachette. The editor of the present volume is Paul Rice Doolin of Harvard University. His work is an abridgement of the works of Albert Malet, a French historian of wide renown, whose books on various aspects of French and European history are widely used in French lycees and colleges.

The volume is therefore a short history of France in French. One hundred and ten of the four hundred and eighty-nine pages are devoted to the ancient and medieval periods, one hundred and forty to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, eighty-eight pages to the French Revolution and Napoleon, and one hundred and eighty-eight to the

history of France since 1815. Several chapters discuss social, economic, and scientific and literary phases of French history. The work is preceded by a poor map and followed by the text of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man."

The book should prove useful to history and modern language students in search of a short history of France written in the French language.

From the pen of Professor J. H. Latané, of Johns Hopkins University, now comes a substantial survey of American foreign policy, the field to which he has long devoted the greater part of his attention. Its six divisions are entitled Republican Principles and Ideals, The Defiance of the Old World, Rounding Out Borders and Looking Over Seas, Safeguarding the Union, Expansion in Caribbean and Pacific and Intervention in Europe. It is well documented and has a good index. It is the best written and most up-to-date survey of American Foreign Policy. It is an impartial account of American policy written from the Democratic point of view.

## THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERARY EXPRESSION

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

SEX EXPRESSION IN LITERATURE. By V. F. Calverton.  
New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926. \$2.50.

If this book bore a quieter title, it might easily pass for a standard treatise on literary criticism and might even get wide currency as a textbook in university courses in literature, and that in spite of the fact that the professors of belles lettres ordinarily affect disdain for efforts to correlate the literary arts with workaday social phenomena. Certainly the sociologists would have had great occasion to use the book in opening up the field of the

sociology of culture. As it is, the standard taboos that still cluster in academic circles will certainly forbid the use of the book as a text in any course, and the author will be lucky if his work is featured at all within university precincts.

These considerations raise the whole question whether it is worthwhile to conduct a crusade on sex. Harry Elmer Barnes, who writes a lengthy introduction to Calverton's book, thinks it is.

It is easy to agree with Barnes' theory that "the rigid personal purity which was at least the theoretical objective and ideal

of Puritanism was fundamentally a compensation for the highly dubious and questionable economic methods and practices forced upon the mercantile and business classes in early modern times by the conditions of their existence." Neither is there any need to quibble over his contention that "the theory of morality as identical and coextensive with personal chastity is highly congenial to a society dominated by business men" for as much as "it makes possible the execution of the most shady economic practices and the maintenance at the same time of an immaculate reputation as an indispensable pillar of society."

When *The Newer Spirit* came out a couple of years ago, discerning critics hailed it as the beginning of an epoch. No longer was literature to be an eery attic for mice and bats—a garret sealed off from the rest of the house. No longer could critics get by with the assumption that art is a thing in itself, answerable to none but its own standards. No longer could esthetes toy with imaginary, purely factitious canons of criticism uncorrelated with the world of bricks and mortar, and bread and butter, and cotton and wool. Calverton had shown convincingly that literature correlates with social life in as precise a fashion as does government and law. He had made clear that art is but a reflex of the economic basis of society. It could not be told, however, whether he would carry on, whether he would make good in the application of his theory to a ranging field. Now, however, the answer is clear. Calverton has carried on, he will carry on, and, what is more, he will not be a voice in the wilderness, but will set the standard,—indeed he has set the standard,—for the literary criticism of generations to come. The young student approaching literature would need no other guide than Calverton's two books. In

order to master their implications he would find himself led whether or no through the whole field of psychology, sociology, economics, history. He would know how absurd it is for any person to set himself up as an authority on art and letters without first mastering the major content of the whole sweep of human knowledge. There is undoubtedly an amazing affinity between Calverton and Barnes. Their scope is encyclopedic. If, perchance, Calverton began as an understudy of Barnes (as some of us have ventured to guess) he is now obviously on a par with him. The reviewer can think of no other two men in the field of present-day American scholarship who are so obviously serviceable. In the long run, moreover, Calverton will be more useful than Barnes because he is profound where Barnes is merely brilliant; he is revolutionary where Barnes is merely provocative.

If we had any universities in the United States, Calverton would undoubtedly be invited forthwith to a professorship of literary interpretation. One could envy the students that might have an opportunity to traverse with him the fields of English literature along lines sketched in the present book. They would analyze the injury done to poet and dramatist by "the practice of patronage, deeply rooted in the economic basis of feudal society" and capable of being altered only by a change in social evolution. They would see how a "change of social system, the decay of feudalism and the rise of commercialism, the decline of the aristocracy and the advance of the bourgeoisie . . . brought about a cessation of the practice of patronage and the introduction of a partial though often precarious independence of the author." They would learn to know Elizabethan literature as "but a reflection of the psychology of the



feudal nobility" and would understand how "the aristocratic conception of tragedy, an unalloyed feudal dogma, in expressing the attitude of the nobility expressed likewise the stage of economic progress of the time." On the other hand, "the Elizabethan Puritan, representing an economics and a psychology antithetical to those of the aristocracy, was naturally opposed to the drama which expressed the taste of the aristocracy and not of the bourgeoisie. The tastes of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy from the very nature of their lives were antagonistic."

It is entirely impossible in the space of a brief review to indicate how far Calverton's work transcends the commonplaceness that is inevitable in so compressed an account. Some readers might be helped by knowing that the book is in every respect a worthy companion piece to Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. Calverton might, indeed, have designated his essay as "Literature and the Rise of Capitalism" were it not that he carries the story on to the present, to the period in which efflorescent capitalism somewhat gone to seed is manifesting the same impudent self-assurance and moral negligence as characterized the elder nobility. This time we have to look for the rise of the proletariat and to wonder.

"At the present time, due to the recent recoil from the effects of the bourgeois suppression of the last century and the bewildering ecstasy of the new freedom, there is a preoccupation with sex in literature that, in all likelihood, will diminish in the next few generations. . . . With the weakening of the private-property régime a new ethic is born. Sex will be neither maximized nor minimized neither exalted nor degraded, neither concealed nor advertised. . . . Sex will become a part of life but not the whole of life, an expression of life but not the art of life. . . . The literary artist will deal with sex without ceremony or prudery, without affectation or timidity." The reader may, however, begin to wonder whether in his prophesyings Calverton is not merely idealizing a wish as literary voices have done at other stages.

For the sociologist, Calverton is indispensable. Through his two books and *The Modern Quarterly* he is making available an enrichment that sociology sorely needs at this time, shackled as it is between dry-as-dust pedantry and sentimentalized "social work." It may well be that sociology is the science of culture, in which case Calverton is for America of today beyond question the center of the stage.

## SOME BOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE

HARRY ELMER BARNES

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE FROM THE TIME OF THE PHARAOHS TO THE END OF THE XVIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. By C. G. Cumston. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926. xxxii, 390 pp. \$5.00.

MASTER MINDS IN MEDICINE. By John C. Hemmeter. With an Introduction by Karl Sudhoff. New York: Medical Life Press, 1927. xxvii, 771 pp. \$10.00.

ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE. By Karl Sudhoff. New York: Medical Life Press, 1926. xiii, 397 pp. \$4.00.

THE DON QUIXOTE OF PSYCHIATRY. By Victor S. Robinson. New York: Historico-Medical Press, 1926. 339 pp. \$2.50.

SIXTY YEARS IN MEDICAL HARNES, 1865-1925. By Charles B. Johnson. New York: Medical Life Press, 1926. xii, 333 pp. \$3.50.

REMINISCENCES. By George Henry Fox. New York: Medical Life Press, 1926. 248 pp. \$2.00.

THE HISTORY OF CARDIOLOGY. By Louis F. Bishop and John Neilson. New York: Medical Life Press, 1927. 71 pp. \$1.00.

THE LIFE OF JACOB HENLE. By Victor S. Robinson.

New York: Medical Life Press, 1926. 117 pp. \$1.00.

PIONEERS OF BIRTH CONTROL IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA. By Victor S. Robinson. New York: Voluntary Parenthood League, 1926. 107 pp. \$1.00.

AN ESSAY ON HASHEESH. By Victor S. Robinson. New York: E. H. Ringer, 1925. 91 pp. \$1.00.

The history of medicine cannot be divorced from the history of social thought or from the history of humanitarianism. Therefore, there is much in these volumes of interest to the sociologist, the social worker, and the historian of social thought.

Dr. Cumston's work is a systematic history of medicine to the opening of the nineteenth century. It is a volume in the History of Civilization Series. It is not only a readable and reliable guide to the history of medicine up to the contemporary period, but is also rich in the history of the general ideas of the various periods which either advanced or retarded medical science. It is not as monumental or encyclopedic a volume as that by Dr. Garrison, but it is better adapted to the needs of the general reader.

Dr. Hemmeter's work is a voluminous and erudite volume which constitutes a contribution to historiography, sociology, psychology and general science, as well as to the history of medicine. It does not pretend to be a systematic and consecutive history of medicine, but discusses a vast number of persons and subjects related to the methodology and problems of medical history. Even among the "master minds" are included men not primarily physicians such as Goethe and Darwin. The book is of particular importance to the historian and sociologist because of the author's analysis of genius as revealed in medical history. As the chief test of genius Dr. Hemmeter selects altruism.

The Sudhoff volume is a collection of

fragmentary essays by the world's greatest authority in the field of the history of medicine. As valuable as any of the essays by Sudhoff himself is the excellent biographical sketch of Sudhoff by Dr. Fielding H. Garrison, the chief American historian of medicine. The most valuable sections of the work for the sociologist are, perhaps, the studies in the history of hygiene and the essay on the history of syphilis.

The "Don Quixote of Psychiatry" is Dr. Shobal Vail Clevenger (b. 1843). He continued the work of Dorothea Dix in combating the cruel and brutal treatment of the insane in the mid-West, and made many original contributions to neuropsychiatry, though somewhat eccentric and amateurish in conceptions and methods. For the sociologist the most valuable portions of the book relate to the account of Clevenger's battle against institutional corruption and inefficiency.

Dr. Johnson's autobiography is a useful compilation for both the historian of medicine and the sociologist. It is the record of the medical education and personal experiences of a country doctor of the better class in the last generation. It furnishes an illuminating contrast with the medical science and practice of the second quarter of the twentieth century, and also throws much light upon family and social conditions in the mid-West in the generation following the Civil War.

The autobiography of Dr. Fox, the distinguished New York dermatologist, is particularly interesting as furnishing a contrast between the training and career of a home-bred rural doctor like Dr. Johnson and a European trained metropolitan specialist, such as Dr. Fox has been. Their lives cover almost the same period. Since Dr. Fox studied widely in Europe and associated with distinguished physicians during more than fifty years

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of practice, his book contains not only much technical information of value, but a great deal of personal information of interest in medical history.

The little work by Doctors Bishop and Neilson is a clear and untechnical account of the development of medical science in relation to the nature and treatment of diseases of the heart and circulatory system.

The volume on Henle is a brief and clear biography of one of the leading German ophthalmologists, anatomists and urologists of the nineteenth century, who did most of his work between 1830 and 1880. Henle was particularly famous for his work in anatomy.

Dr. Robinson's little book on the history of birth control is a clear summary of developments from Malthus to Abraham Jacobi and Margaret Sanger. Particularly valuable is the account of the bitter struggle necessary to get the medical world to support the movement.

The essay on "Hasheesh" is an historical and analytical study of the sociopsychological effects of the consumption of this drug, known technically as *Canabis Indica*.

**SOCIAL FACTORS IN MEDICAL PROGRESS.** By Bernhard J. Stern. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. 136 pp. \$2.25.

In this book the ideas formulated in Ogburn's *Social Change* are applied to the special field of medical discovery and practice. Dr. Stern surveys the history of medicine to discover first, the factors which retard the diffusion of medical discoveries, and second, the nature of medical invention and progress and the rôle the gifted individual plays in this progress.

In Part I, the purpose of the author is to set forth and to test out "hypotheses about the character of the psychological and sociological factors which resist

change." The first factor to be discussed is that of the vested interests which are not merely economic but also psychological, those bound up with the struggle to retain status, reputation and prestige. With these is joined the tendency to suffuse an habitual mode of activity with an "emotional tone" which renders it very powerful in its resistance to change. Then comes the "power of tradition" evidenced by the fear of trying the new; this, in turn, is intensified by the educational system which is itself afflicted with inertia because of the "mind set" and timidity of its personnel and of the money cost of adopting innovations. Others are, reverence for authority; the psychological factor of habit which makes reconditioning so disturbing to the individual and causes him to resort to rationalization to retain the old; the fear of pain and avoidance of trouble; the demands of social conformity and social order which bring into use a variety of social pressures to maintain the status quo. Even when there is no opposition from these psychological and cultural factors the purely mechanical difficulty of diffusing knowledge may cause cultural inertia. Fear of economic loss in commercializing the innovation as well as a lack of means to institute it will cause a delay in its diffusion. And again, the invention may come in conflict with other elements of culture which seek to accomplish the same end, such as a church doctrine or a political dogma. Finally, oppositions have been at least intensified by the personality traits and affiliations of the inventor.

A chapter follows exposing the conditions which render the medical profession particularly prone to conservatism and the masses, on the contrary, to hail every novelty provided it promises to cure an ailment with little pain, time and cost. Then come chapters giving a critically



historical analysis of the various factors involved in the opposition to dissection, Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood, vaccination, Pasteur and his discoveries, antisepsis, asperis, and the theory that puerperal fever is contagious. Not all factors were present in each case nor were they always of the same importance. The tendency to surround an habitual activity with an "emotional tone" which makes it a very powerful conservative force and the persistence of habit reactions due to the difficulty of reconditioning behavior patterns are found in all examples studied. Social pressure comes as the next prominent factor. A striking instance of the unyielding nature of the opposition to change is to be found in the case of antisepsis which after being incorporated into medical practice became the strongest opponent to asepsis. Evidently each conflict leaves us hardly better able to cope with the problem of the new.

In the second part, the author shows how inventions in medicine, as perhaps in every other phase of culture, are not only made possible but seemingly inevitable by the given cultural base. Medical biography has served to obscure this fact by extolling the achievements of the inventor without reference to his background in medical and in general science. The nature of medical advance is studied in two ways: first, by showing the additive

influence of minute contributions in the past both in medicine and in related sciences and techniques, and this even in discoveries which are considered the result of the epochmaking work of some individual; second, by revealing the fact that so many discoveries were made independently in different parts of the world at about or nearly the same time. A long table of multiple discoveries is added. In either case the pivotal and indispensable position of the individual in the progress of medicine is denied and the indebtedness of mankind to him is minimized for he is shown to be so largely a product of the age and not unique at that. Gifted individuals are invaluable but they are not independent of culture; and culture seems to run a course of its own which if studied may reveal regularities and uniformities capable of formulation and utilization.

Dr. Stern's monograph is valuable, moreover, in pointing the way to the method of studying social change as exemplified concretely in a given element of culture. It is to be hoped more students will be stimulated to undertake similar investigations in other fields to test further the hypotheses employed in this book and possibly discover others. Such work will contribute much to the foundation of a dynamic sociology.

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## SOCIAL-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

WILLIAM A. COPELAND

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES. By Thomas Nixon Carver. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1925. 270 pp. \$2.50.

PROFITS. By William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925. xix, 465 pp. \$4.00.

THE RELATION OF GOVERNMENT TO INDUSTRY.

By M. L. Requa. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. xi, 241 pp.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1925. 242 pp. \$1.50.

THE LABOR REVOLUTION. By Karl Kautsky. New York: The Dial Press, 1925. 287 pp. \$2.50.

PROGRESS AND THE CONSTITUTION. By Newton D.

- Baker. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. 94 pp. \$1.25.
- WELFARE WORK IN INDUSTRY. By Eleanor T. Kelly. New York: Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1925. 119 pp. \$1.50.
- THE REGULARIZATION OF EMPLOYMENT. By H. Feldman. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1925. xvi, 437 pp. \$3.50.
- COAL. By Edward T. Devine. Bloomington, Ill.: American Review Service Press, 1925. 448 pp.

To one who believes that breadth of view is to be gained by piecing together a number of narrow outlooks which face in different directions, this little collection of books should seem to offer a liberal education in socio-economics. It includes three defenses of the existing economic system, two fundamentally critical views of the present order, three diagnoses of specific though overlapping problems, one legal-economic historical survey, and three books which might be said to aim at social reform of our economic system by "boring from within."

Carver's *New Economic Revolution*, and the first half of Foster and Catchings' *Profits* are probably the two ablest defenses of the present order on the market today. According to the latter, production is carried on by entrepreneurs struggling for survival in a régime of free competition. Consumers' demand is the dominant factor in determining prices and production policy (p. 174). Wages are a first charge on industry. Profits are paid only after they are realized. Profits are the indemnification for risk, which is the price of progress, and which is necessary to consumers' freedom of choice. Under this system the entrepreneur is rewarded for his socially valuable guesses. Laissez-faire is the proper policy, in general. The fundamental economic problem to which the conflict between capital and labor is due is the business cycle—a monetary phenomenon.

Carver's defense differs in being pro-

spective. Our present system is good because it is rapidly getting better—so rapidly, in fact, that the United States is going through a new economic revolution. Thus does conservatism parade in radical dress. The balanced, and the desirable, economic system for Carver is one in which there is equality of prosperity between different occupations. Present inequalities among different callings are due to immigration of unskilled labor and to lack of education. Restricted immigration and improved education are looked to bring about a levelling of labor incomes between different occupations, except for such differences as are due to risk and cost of training. The entrepreneur's calling is thought to be the riskiest (p. 35). Equality of labor income does not mean equality of total income until we have equality of thrift in the different callings. In support of the view that the distribution of thrift is becoming more even, Carver cites: The growth of savings accounts and insurance policies, labor banks, the increasingly wide distribution of stock ownership and the development of employee and consumer stock ownership. One wonders whether Carver's program of social reform should not logically include (1) measures for the restriction of "immigration from heaven" as well as from Europe; (2) the rearing of all children by the state to secure equality of educational opportunity; and (3) compulsory endowment of the government through heavy death duties.

For Carver the conflict between capital and labor is not due to capitalism, any more than the conflict between husband and wife is due to the family. He finds the causes in the unbalanced supply of various types of labor, due to the immigration of the uneducated and unskilled, and in the difference of attitude as between those who have wealth and leisure and

those who have not. Thus he seems to hold, contrary to what many would suppose, that restriction of immigration would tend to weaken labor class-consciousness.

Carver does not list the business cycle as a cause of class conflict. Nor does he treat this substitute for famines as a capitalistic phenomenon, though he tells us that capitalism has abolished famine. Capitalism, indeed, can hardly be held responsible for any of our ills, as Carver sees it. Property is inevitable when fraud and violence are suppressed, and capital, property in indirect goods, is not essentially different from property in consumers' goods (p. 131). Capitalism means the accumulation of possessions, such as plant, equipment, etc., and the concomitant development of technology when fraud and violence are suppressed.

Both Carver and Foster and Catchings rely heavily on the effectiveness of "free" competition as a regulator of price, and of quality and terms of sale. For Carver the inequality of bargaining power between employer and employee means the over-supply of wage labor and the under-supply of entrepreneurs. Balance up this inequality in distribution of labor among callings and most of our social legislation will be unnecessary (p. 244). In other words, these writers are assuming that the labor markets and the markets for consumers' goods function like the perfect market of pure theory where competition is exclusively on a price basis. But differences in quality and terms of sale, economic friction, size of the employing and selling firms, and inadequacies of market information all introduce monopoly elements which make competition alone entirely unsatisfactory for the performance of the regulative function. And if free competition were possible it would probably not be desirable in many markets

under modern conditions of large overhead costs.

In this respect Requa is somewhat more realistic. In the labor markets, as well as those of public utilities, he recognizes the inadequacy of competition as a regulator. As for the cases of the trust industries on the one hand and agriculture on the other, he is less clear as to the need for government "interference": The government should not take a punitive or destructive attitude toward large business enterprises, but should prevent unfair competition. It should not fix prices.

Requa's defense of the existing system consists in reciting the failures of paternalism (= communism and socialism) from the Gracchi to Lenin and Trotsky. He concludes from this recital that capitalism is the direction in which economic progress lies, because for efficient production it is necessary that "to every man should belong the fruits of his labor" (pp. 43-4). Curious that he should have come so near to phrasing the socialist claim, "the right of every man to the full product of his labor." Beyond this elementary recognition of incentives, Requa's economic analysis is distinctly weak, though a good many of the conclusions to which he comes seem sane and laudable.

One point common to Requa and Foster and Catchings invites comment. Government is sharply distinguished from industry and from business management by Requa, and Foster and Catchings contrast the private entrepreneur, selected by competition, with the politically elected public official. Such a distribution may have been valid before the industrial revolution, but it hardly holds today. There is plenty of politics in corporate business; management *is* industrial government, making rules and administering punishment; the manager occupies a public office, however irresponsibly. And Car-



ver's denial of the difference between capital and consumer's property can scarcely eradicate the fact that, typically, business capital is the basis of management of groups of human beings.

The second half of *Profits* is a theory of the business cycle. Like the socialistic theories, it attributes depression to under-consumption and over-supply of loanable funds, and like them it assumes the extra demand for capital (rather than shows it to be forthcoming) presumably as a result of entrepreneurs' overestimate of consumers' demand. Without such an increase in demand for funds, the recession of business would, according to the over-saving theory, be preceded by low rather than high interest rates.

Unlike the socialists, Foster and Catchings trace over-saving not primarily to the inequality of distribution of wealth, with consequent accumulation of funds by the rich during prosperity, but rather to the expansion of commercial bank credit and to the accumulation of corporate surpluses. (Note the entry of the corporation in the second act.) And the over-saving theory is brought into the line with the neoclassical economic view of crises as monetary by an alternative explanation of over-saving as due to the circulation of money twice in production before it returns to consumption. The reviewer doubts whether the time-lag arising from this peculiarity of the circuit flow of money is of the right order of magnitude to account for the business cycle. Moreover, this time-lag is probably of no more significance than a number of others which the chart on page 255 suggests, unless one holds to the peculiar causal importance of the consumer in the circuit flow of money,—and Foster and Catchings' emphasis on consumers' freedom of choice is an anachronism in these days of big business and sales effort. The volume of consumers' outlay is quite

as truly determined by the volume of business outlays as the other way around. Indeed, if the initiative lies with either, cyclically, it is probably with the business enterprise. This is presumably why Mitchell called it a *business cycle*.

Mother Jones's autobiography, in spite of inaccuracies of detail, is a valuable document and an intensely human one as well, full of Irish wit and stump oratory. That wage slavery is not an entirely obsolete term in spite of Carver (p. 4), the experience of this venerable warrior in the coal fields of West Virginia and Colorado, and in the steel towns of Pennsylvania attests.

So also does Devine's treatment of the coal problem. This little book by a member of the United States Coal Commission presents the facts the commission found and discusses the proposals. Its excuse—it duplicates for the most part the report itself and Hunt's summary—is its readability. It deserves careful consideration, partly because coal will certainly bother us again and again, and partly because it illustrates how badly competition has served as a regulator of industry.

The indictment of the bituminous industry—over-development, waste of life and of coal, improper living conditions, and high prices—is convincing, though the economic analysis of causes is sometimes inadequate (e.g., p. 208). While laissez-faire is discarded and the coal industry is declared to be a public utility, the prescription, reform of the industry "from within," will mean to many only "laissez-faire" under another name, especially in view of the lack of rigor in dealing with the anthracite combination. The suggestions for applying the single tax principle to coal royalties and profits, for licensing mines, for regulating their combination, and for revision of freight rests are tangible and constructive. But

the admonitions to the anthracite railroads to obey the commodities clause (p. 378), to the bituminous wholesalers to cease to exist (p. 375), and to the bituminous workers to organize (p. 369) (while the union hesitates on the verge of disruption), distinctly weaken his presentation.

Kautsky offers us a view of the socialist state and of the stage of transition. The coming labor "revolution" is distinguished from middle class revolutions like the French and the Russian in being peaceful, democratic, and very gradual. It cannot be hastened by force because of the nature of large scale industry. In the new state there is place for guild control in craft trades, such as building construction. On the boards of directors of nationalized industries, laborers, consumers, and the state will be represented. Management, labor, and the state will share what is left of profits. Inventions will be appropriated by the community. Capitalists will be compensated as each industry is taken over, but the compensation will come out of income, property, and inheritance-taxes. Money will continue to be used. So much appears between the controversial replies to the bolsheviks and the quotations from the socialist scriptures. On the whole, the work is distinctly inferior to the Webbs' treatment of the same theme, to which no reference is made.

Baker's three lectures, delivered before the Law School of the University of Virginia, on the William H. White foundation, enumerate certain anomalies that have developed under our constitution and sketch the extension of federal power, especially under the commerce clause. The third lecture chronicles some of the difficulties which arise out of the division of the treaty power between the Senate and the President, particularly the conflict

regarding ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. In the second lecture the necessity and growth of federal action in such economic problems as those of the trusts, the banking system, and the relation of employer and employee are noted. In Mr. Baker's exhortation to cultivate toward the Constitution an attitude of "animated moderation," there is nothing to inspire young lawyers to the great task of bringing the law—ever a laggard in times of social change—into harmony with the new conditions which "progress" (Mr. Baker's name for the industrial revolution) has created.

The little volume prepared by the Institute for Industrial Welfare Workers of Great Britain under the editorship of Eleanor Kelly outlines briefly the scope of the activities of an employment management department and some of the problems arising in connection with introducing such a department into a firm or extending its scope. In the appendix there are presented general specifications for working conditions, forms for records and reports, and other material of a more technical nature. The book is apparently intended for persons having slight acquaintance with the field and is too brief to give much specific information. The friendly attitude toward trade unions, the frank discarding of laissez-faire philosophy, and the large emphasis on workers' education will hardly appeal to a considerable class of American employers.

Easily the best of these books is Feldman's analysis of the causes of irregularity of employment and his proposals for lessening it. He attributes the irregularity to indifference of the management, and this partly to the failure to recognize the costs of employment fluctuation and turnover and partly to the fact that the keep of the employee, unlike that of the machine, can be dogged by the employer

in slack times. Industry, he feels, should bear the cost of maintaining its employees when they are laid off, but it does not do so directly for the most part. Indirectly, it may pay in the form of higher wage rates and stalling to make the work go around. Here is a cause of friction between labor and capital and of business depressions which Carver and Foster and Catchings would do well to reckon with.

As for remedies, a large part of Feldman's attention is devoted to improvements in business management—directing sales policy to increase the diversification of products, to diminish style changes, and to encourage customers to order in advance; coordinating sales, production, and employment policies through a budget system; development of an employment policy of intra-plant exchange of labor, the employee to receive extra compensation for versatility and for doing jobs other than his customary one. Feldman urges that the unions may help both in eliminating restrictions on shifting from one job to another and by demanding an employment insurance plan which will compel the employer to pay premiums on the basis of irregularity of employment. He emphasizes the superiority of the Cleveland as against the Chicago clothing industry insurance plan in this respect.

Advocates of the development of employment exchanges to facilitate inter-business dovetailing of employment will find little encouragement in his discussion. According to Feldman, there are several difficulties with such a plan: exchanges must make fitness for a job, not need for it, the basis of recommendation; few feasible dovetailing possibilities exist; and, if possible, the work should be brought to the worker rather than conversely. The chief function of the exchange, Feldman feels, is in handling permanent separations and hirings. In summary fashion Feldman reviews special

programs for bituminous coal mining, agriculture, building construction, and dockwork. He also discusses very briefly government and public utility construction in slack times, credit control of the business cycle, governmental statistical reports on business conditions, and vocational guidance and training to prevent the employment and subsequent separation of misfits. If there is any one important criticism to be made of his thorough and well-reasoned treatment of his subject it is that he has given too little emphasis to an elaboration of the possible methods by which the employers may be made to bear the costs of the irregularities of employment for which they are responsible, in a way which will make it more clearly to their interest to decrease this irregularity. But the book is a significant contribution to a far-reaching problem, and with Devine's treatment of the coal problem, it assumes an even broader significance. Both Feldman and Devine regard the business manager as a *public official*, and look to him at least as confidently as to Congress and the President to carry out their proposals for reform.

THE WORKER LOOKS AT GOVERNMENT. By Arthur W. Calhoun. New York: The International Publishers Co., Inc., 1927. 176 pp. \$1.60.

Professor Calhoun has here written a book of freshness and individuality. It is infinitely removed from the stereotyped textbooks of the college pedagogues. Every page bristles with generalizations and observations to most of which the thoughtful and sophisticated reader of the social sciences will assent, and to all of which he will react with active cerebration. While it treats all the phases of political institutions in a logical series of chapters and might thus serve as a text, it is best designed for discussion groups of wide-awake readers.

There are some indications that it is



written with definite propaganda purposes in mind, but they are not numerous, probably less numerous than similar works from more pretentious sources. The author is too much the scholar to lend support to the silly dogmatism of utopian-ridden radicals. But in this he becomes a stronger propagandist, for a sound labor movement must be built on sound principles. On p. 156 his emotions get the better of his judgment when he invites labor not only to view the courts as agents of "the enemy" but to realize that it will suffer from "recognizing the validity of court processes." As a rule, however, the judgments are objective and often remarkably clean-cut and keen.

Thus having shown that no government is likely to safeguard freedom of speech as an abstract principle, he concludes: "Freedom of speech as a realized ideal belongs to a period beyond the class struggle." This is at once realistic and utopian. Another illustration is found in his discussion of political parties: "In reality, the party consists of those who supply the finances. The voters are pawns and the politicians are tools." Very neat and very true. It is a book that ought to be widely read by citizens desirous of a plain straight-forward introduction into political realism.

F. H. HANKINS.

*Smith College.*

### BOOK NOTES AND LISTS

(Subsequent reviews of selected volumes)

KATHARINE JOCHER

**TRUMPETS OF JUBILEE.** By Constance Mayfield Rourke. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 445 pp. \$5.00.

A social history of the middle Nineteenth Century interpreted through the lives of five of its outstanding personalities—Henry Ward Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lyman Beecher, Horace Greeley, and P. T. Barnum. The volume is beautifully illustrated with photographs, engravings, and other reproductions.

**AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.** Compiled by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1926. 500 pp. \$5.00.

The life of Abraham Lincoln as told in his own words in personal portions of his letters, speeches, and conversations. A number of cartoons illustrate the book.

**THOMAS PAINE.** By Mary Agnes Best. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 413 pp. \$3.50.

"Prophet and Martyr of Democracy" is Miss Best's characterization of this much maligned American patriot. She portrays him as one of the greatest American thinkers and as one of the founders of the Republic. The book is well-illustrated.

**GEORGE WASHINGTON.** By W. E. Woodward. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926. 460 pp. \$4.00.

An attempt at an unbiased, unprejudiced biography of the "Father of his country" and a history of the time in which he lived. The volume is illustrated with thirteen full-page plates.

**THE INGENIOUS HIDALGO.** MIGUEL CERVANTES. By Han Ryner. Tr. by J. H. Lewis. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 243 pp. \$2.75.

A study of personality and genius which partakes of both biography and fiction. The author's creation of Cervantes is brought to us amid the colorful surround-

ings of the most romantic period of Spain's history. The book is illustrated.

**THE LAST SALON: ANATOLE FRANCE AND HIS MUSE.** By Jeanne Maurice Pouquet. Tr. by Lewis Galantieri. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 362 pp. \$3.50.

This collection of letters "left in the raw and held together only by the thin thread of an occasional explanation" pictures the last great Parisian Salon—that of Mme. Arman de Caillavet—in which Mme. de Caillavet exercised her influence over Anatole France.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.** By Lynn Thorndike. New York: Crofts, 1926. 619 pp.

This history comprises seven books: Prehistoric and primitive civilization, development of ancient civilization in the Near East, classical civilization and its decline, civilizations of the Far East, medieval civilizations of the Near East, revival of civilization in the West, early modern times, the genesis of our present civilization. In addition to the general bibliography, a bibliography is appended to each chapter. The book is profusely illustrated.

**EPOCHS OF WORLD PROGRESS.** By J. Lynn Barnard and Agnew O. Roorbach. New York: Henry Holt, 1927. 764 pp.

A new departure is found in this world history told in "ten consecutive but overlapping Epochs." Since the book is intended as a text for high school students, each epoch is prefaced by an orientation paragraph giving a resumé of the preceding section as well as a glimpse into the future, and the volume is well supplied with maps, illustrations, questions, bibliography, and other suggestive teaching material.

**MAIN CURRENTS IN AMERICAN THOUGHT.** Vol. I, The Colonial Mind, 1620-1800; Vol. II, The

Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860. By Vernon Louis Parrington. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 413, 493 pp. \$4.00 each.

These two volumes by a professor of English essay to give us a history of American culture, "presenting from the founding of the Colonies to the Civil War, the development of American thought . . . as expressed in American letters." In the first volume we have "a study of theocratic New England;" the second "treats of the reaction in America to the liberal philosophy of France" with particular emphasis on the South and the New West.

**AMERICA COMES OF AGE.** By Andre Siegfried. Tr. by H. H. Hemming and Doris Hemming. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 343 pp. \$3.00.

A French analysis of post-war America by a professor in the School of Social Sciences in Paris, who has visited this country some half dozen times. This book is the result of his latest tour in 1925. Professor Siegfried discusses the present situation from the standpoints of race, economic organization, and political structure, and concludes that America is building up a vast social organization based almost wholly—if not wholly—on materialism.

**ADMINISTRATIVE JUSTICE AND THE SUPREMACY OF LAW IN THE UNITED STATES.** By John Dickinson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. 403 pp. \$5.00.

This is the second of the Harvard studies in administrative law. "The greater part of the book is devoted to an examination of the reasons underlying the practice of review and of the purposes which it is expected to serve. The discussion centers ultimately upon the crux of the most difficult issues; that is, upon the distinction which the courts draw between questions of law and questions of fact."

**AMERICAN PARTIES AND ELECTIONS.** By Edward McChesney Sait. New York and London: Century, 1927. 608 pp. \$3.75.

This volume is the latest addition to The Century Political Science Series, edited by Frederic A. Ogg. The American party system is surveyed from five angles: the electorate and public opinion, nature and history of parties, party organization, nominations, and elections.

**FOREIGN POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES.** By James Q. Dealey. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1926. 402 pp. \$2.80.

"In Part I the conditions basal to policies and the agencies through which these are formulated are emphasized; in Part II the policies themselves are first traced in their general development, and then follow discussions of the more important foreign policies of the United States, including its relations with other countries. The whole is intended to be a study of conditions and development, not a chronological record of events."

**THE STATE AND THE KINGDOM.** By William Monroe Balch. New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon Press, 1926. 63 pp. \$50.

A brief discussion of the origin and nature of the state intended primarily for the "thoughtful and conscientious" citizen.

**TEN YEARS OF WAR AND PEACE.** By Archibald Cary Coolidge. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. 275 pp. \$3.00.

Ten Articles from *Foreign Affairs*, of which Professor Coolidge is editor, from the *Yale Review*, and from the *American Historical Review*, dealing with the problems of world politics, comprise this little volume.

**ITALY AND FASCISMO.** By Luigi Sturzo. Tr. by Barbara Barclay Carter. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926. 304 pp. \$3.75.

The author, a Sicilian priest, is an Italian political leader who founded the Italian Popular party in 1919. Since Don Sturzo is now an exile in England, this book was made and printed there. It is an analysis "of the historical process which has led to the overthrow of the Italian Constitution and the elevation of a dictator."

**ON THE TRAIL OF THE RUSSIAN FAMINE.** By Frank Alfred Golder and Lincoln Hutchinson. Stanford University Press, 1927. 319 pp. \$3.50.

The authors, trained historians and students of Russian life and institutions, were investigators for the American Relief Administration. They have given us an interesting picture of the first years of the Bolshevik régime.

**SOCIAL PROGRESS.** By Ulysses G. Weatherly. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1927. 388 pp. \$3.00.

**RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.** Ed. by Edward Cary Hayes. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1927. 427 pp. \$3.50.

Two new volumes have appeared in Lippincott's *Sociological Series*, edited by Professor Hayes. Professor Weatherly's study emerges from a background of anthropology and history, yet he gives us not an historical survey but places the emphasis upon the dynamics of change. His approach is pragmatic rather than historical. *Recent Developments in the Social Sciences* is an endeavor to secure greater unification of thought and method in the social sciences. There are chapters on sociology by Charles A. Ellwood, anthropology by Clark Wissler, psychology by Robert H. Gault, cultural geography by Carl O. Sauer, economics by John M. Clark, political science by Charles E. Merriam, and history by Harry Elmer Barnes.

**SOZIOLOGIE UND STAATSTHEORIE.** By Harry Elmer Barnes. Innsbruck, Germany: Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1927. 231 pp.



A comprehensive treatment of the sociological background of politics, with an introduction by Professor Gottfried Salomon.

READINGS IN URBAN SOCIOLOGY. Ed. by Scott E. W. Bedford. New York and London: Appleton, 1927. 903 pp. \$5.00.

The topics in this comprehensive collection of source materials on the city and city life and problems include the population shift from country to city; city planning and zoning; smoke, billboard, and noise ordinances; traffic and transportation; crime and police; disaster; housing; home ownership; unemployment; illegitimacy; city child labor; adult education, etc. A comprehensive bibliography and a list of questions are appended to each chapter.

PRINCIPLES OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By Gustav A. Lundquist and Thomas Nixon Carver. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1927. 484 pp. \$2.84.

A study of rural life in its psychological, social, economic, political, religious, and educational aspects, with special reference to American rural problems.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By Sophonisba Breckinridge. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927. 876 pp.

This source book is a collection of select documents gathered together in "an attempt to set out and to illustrate the problems presenting themselves in connection with the undertaking on the part of the community to secure through public organization certain services now generally characterized as welfare or social services."

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY. By Ernest R. Groves. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1927. \$2.50.

A scientific but readable analysis of the social problems of that rapidly-changing institution, the family, by a man who

writes with authority based upon personal experience as well as keen observation. This is a new volume in Lippincott's *Family Life Series*, and is especially designed for use as a text in normal school and college classes.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY INTERPRETED. By Jesse William Sprowls. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins, Co., 1927. 204 pp. \$4.00.

This interpretation is the result of the author's experience in teaching social psychology to undergraduates. It is intended for beginners in this subject and attempts what the author considers a genuine need—namely, "a survey of leading problems that in one form or another have engaged the attention of students in this field."

MOTHER INDIA. By Katherine Mayo. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 440 pp. \$3.75.

An account of the social factors of the inner life of India in which many unflattering things are brought to light. Although Miss Mayo assumes entire responsibility for the conditions revealed, it should be stated that the book has been reviewed by certain public health authorities of international eminence who are familiar with the Indian field. There are a number of very interesting illustrations.

CITIZEN'S REFERENCE BOOK. By Elizabeth C. Morris. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1927. 184 pp.

In his introduction to this first volume of the *Citizen's Reference Book*, Professor Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina characterizes the book as "a valuable contribution to the modern functional curriculum" which "will be welcomed alike by educators, social workers, and students of society." It is the result of actual experience with adults in community schools. Professor E. L.

Thorndike of Columbia University refers to the book as "a good piece of work by a person with experience in the field, who has given much time and thought to the matter."

**AMONG THE DANES.** By Edgar Wallace Knight. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1927. 236 pp. \$2.50.

This companion study of *Light from the North* by Joseph K. Hart, listed in these columns in the June issue, deals with the entire school system of Denmark but emphasizes especially rural conditions. Reference is also made to economic and social conditions. Although two chapters are devoted to the folk high schools, a more detailed account of these "people's colleges" is to appear later. Professor Knight's book is the result of investigations made while a research fellow of the Social Science Research Council.

**MEASURING MOTOR ABILITY.** By David Kingsley Brace. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1927. 138 pp. \$2.00.

A scale of motor ability tests which the author hopes may "assist physical educators in the classification of their pupils, in furnishing a basis upon which to evaluate achievement, and in gaining a better understanding of the motor side of human reactions."

**THE PHILOSOPHY OF ATHLETICS.** By Elmer Berry. New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1927. 214 pp. \$2.00.

The psychological principles of athletics, especially in their application to the great team fighting games, are presented here in a practical study for teachers of physical education and athletic coaching.

**MEDICAL CARE FOR A MILLION PEOPLE.** By the Committee on Dispensary Development. New York: The Committee, 151 Fifth Avenue, 1927. 90 pp.

"A report on clinics in New York City and of the six-years' work of the Com-

mittee on Dispensary Development of the United Hospital Fund, 1920-1926" made possible by a generous grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The report shows the need for out-patient clinics and service, the remarkable growth of such service, and some of the special problems involved.

**SHOULD WE BE VACCINATED?** By Bernhard J. Stern. New York and London: Harper's 1927. 146 pp. \$1.50.

A survey of the vaccination controversy in its historical and scientific aspects by sociologists. Arguments for and against vaccination are given, but with no idea of propaganda.

**THE NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY.** By Carter Godwin Woodson. Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, 1927. 616 pp. \$3.25.

This history of the United States as affected by the Negro has appeared in a fourth and enlarged edition. The book, which carries the Negro from his African home through the various phases of his life in the New World down to the present day, is designed primarily as a text for high school students, but may be adapted for use in colleges and universities. It is profusely illustrated.

**NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Charles H. Wesley. New York: Vanguard Press, 1927. 343 pp. \$.50.

A study in economic history the purpose of which is "to present a survey of the development and transition of Negro Labor in the United States from the period of slavery to the period of the entrance of Negroes into industrial occupations in large numbers."

**IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR CHILDREN, 1920.** By Niles Carpenter. Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1927. 431 pp.

Census Monograph No. 7 is "concerned with the various statistical problems

arising out of the presence in this country of the immigrant and his children." Most of the material is taken from census publications and does not include data found in other monographs in this series.

**SECURING EMPLOYMENT FOR THE HANDICAPPED.** By Mary La Dame. New York: Welfare Council of New York City, 1927. 133 pp. \$5.50.

At the request of the Employment Bureau for the Handicapped, the Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, the New York Tuberculosis Association, and the New York Heart Association this study was made to ascertain the experiences of agencies placing the handicapped and to suggest ways of improving the service, avoiding duplication of effort, and better placement of the handicapped.

**MIGRATION AND BUSINESS CYCLES.** By Harry Jerome. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1926. 256 pp. \$3.50.

Publication No. 9 of the National Bureau of Economic Research is the result of investigations made by the Bureau at the request of the National Research Council. It forms part of two series of studies,—one on migration planned by the Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration, and the other on business cycles planned by the National Bureau. The extent to which fluctuations in migrations may be attributable to fluctuations in employment, and the extent to which fluctuations in migrating may be an ameliorating influence and to what extent an aggravating factor in employment and unemployment fluctuations, are the major issues of the book.

**A HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT.** By Harry W. Laidler. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1927. 713 pp. \$3.50 net.

This publication is the attempt to present in one volume a history of socialistic thought from earliest times to the

present day with particular emphasis on the rise and development of so-called scientific socialism. The book, which is one of the Crowell's Social Science Series, edited by Seba Eldridge, is designed especially for use as a college text but is well adapted to the general reader.

**OUR EARLY ANCESTORS.** By M. C. Burkitt. London: Cambridge University Press, 1926. 243 pp.

This book offers an introductory study of the cultures of the Mesolithic, Neolithic, and Copper Ages; and, in order to place these periods in their proper sequence, an outline is given of civilizations immediately preceding and following them, namely, those of the Palaeolithic and Bronze Ages.

**SCIENTIFIC HUMANISM.** By Lothrop Stoddard. New York and London: Scribner's, 1926. 177 pp. \$2.00.

Mr. Stoddard believes that we are on the threshold of a new Renaissance. He says, "The age that is coming will be an age of true enlightenment and progress if we succeed in really assimilating the vast extensions of knowledge and power which we have amassed into our present idealistic and cultural scheme. And the way to do it is the way already charted by the men of the Renaissance; that is to say, by an attitude of mind and spirit which we may term *Scientific Humanism*."

**WAYS OF LIVING.** Ed. by J. Arthur Thompson. New York: Doran, 1927. 256 pp. \$1.50.

A series of lectures given at the request of the Aberdeen branch of the Workers' Educational Association, by J. Arthur Thompson, John Rennie, Mac Gregor Skene, A. S. Watt, and Robert D. Lockhart, with a synthetic envoy by Professor Patrick Geddes. The lectures deal with the three chief ways of life—the individualist or independent, the parasitic, and the coöperative or social.



**THE SUPERFLUOUS MAN.** By Milton W. Brown. Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., 1927. 296 pp.

This book is written in opposition to a mechanistic philosophy and, to quote the author, "in the conviction that Christianity not only does not stand in the way of human progress, but is its only hope."

**SPEECH.** By Grace Andrus deLaguna. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927. 363 pp. \$5.00.

The thesis here presented is that speech is an indispensable part of the life of organized society. The specific function of speech in society and its social relation to other group activities are the inquiries which Professor deLaguna has asked and assayed to answer.

**THE WOMAN A MAN MARRIES.** By Victor Cox Pederson. New York: Doran, 1927. 276 pp. \$3.00.

In this candid study of married life, the author, an eminent New York physician, discusses frankly the part which woman must play in the marriage partnership.

**AN INTEGRATED PROGRAM OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.** By W. A. Harper. New York: Macmillan, 1926. 152 pp. \$1.75.

President W. A. Harper of Elon College presents a program for the integration of religious education in contrast to the detached church school, through which he hopes to pave the way for the union of all Christian forces.

**YOUTH AND TRUTH.** By W. A. Harper. New York and London: Century, 1927. 225 pp. \$1.50.

This little volume from the pen of a college president will be read with interest by all those who, like him, have confidence in youth and desire to show that confidence by sympathetic understanding and helpful cooperation. This is No. 4 in the Practical Christianity Series.

**RELIGION AND MORBID MENTAL STATES.** By H. I. Schou. Tr. by W. Worster. New York: Century, 1927. 217 pp. \$1.50.

A series of lectures delivered at the University of Copenhagen comprise this book, which is written especially for the clergy. The author, in addition to his affiliation with the University, is head of a hospital for mental and nervous diseases at Dianalund, Denmark, vice-president of a society of Christian medical practitioners in Denmark and one of the founders of a Christian movement among the medical students at Copenhagen University. He is also a contributor to various scientific journals.

**THE CASE FOR AND AGAINST PSYCHICAL BELIEF.** Ed. by Carl Murchison. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University, 1927. 365 pp. \$3.75.

A symposium on psychical research by Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Frederick Bligh Bond, L. R. G. Crandon, Mary Austin, Margaret Deland, William McDougall, Hans Driesch, Walter Franklin Prince, F. C. S. Schiller, John E. Coover, Gardner Murphy, Joseph Jastrow, Harry Houdini. Illustrated.

**THE IMMACULATE PERCEPTION.** By Jean Parke. New York: Harold Vinal, 1927. 148 pp.

Jean Parke, in private life Mrs. Theodor Holm, is well-known for her portraits, especially her studies in black and white. Having passed through a period of great physical suffering in which her "mystical sight" was uncovered, she has become a faith healer. The *Immaculate Perception* is her testimonial in the divinity of man. The book is illustrated by seven drawings of the Christ by the author.

**FORMS OF INDIVIDUALITY.** By E. Jordan. Indianapolis: Charles W. Laut, 1927. 465 pp. \$3.75.

This "inquiry into the grounds of order in human relations" by a professor of

philosophy "indicates a logical, or experimental, rather than a scientific, or experimental, method of approach to social theory."

**MESSAGES.** By Ramon Fernandez. Tr. by Montgomery Belgion. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 304 pp. \$2.50.

To those interested in the development and perfection of character, these studies of Conrad, Meredith, Newman, Pater, T. S. Eliot, Balzac, Stendhal, and Proust are addressed. Others, too, may possibly find them stimulating.

**HOW RED IS AMERICA?** By Will Irwin. New York: J. H. Sears, 1927. 219 pp. \$1.50.

In this little book, which treats of the various radical elements in America today, the author concludes that "the 'revolutionary reds,' according to the best estimates I can find, number at most liberal estimate only one-sixth of one per cent of our population; and the whole strictly radical element, revolutionary and evolutionary together, certainly not more than one per cent."

**NEW BACKGROUNDS FOR A NEW AGE.** By Edwin Avery Park. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 225 pp. \$3.00.

To the lover of things beautiful, the pages of this book will be a source of joy

and delight—visiting with old friends as well as making the acquaintance of new; while to the average person they will prove an "exploration into developments in applied arts" hitherto unknown. The influence of background and its importance, its gradual change, and the emergence of new backgrounds for new arts are developed, with particular reference to the decorating, furnishing, and building of a home. Artists, decorators, and shops are named. The beautiful and copious illustrations alone make the book well-worth possessing.

**CAPTAINS IN CONFLICT.** By Robert R. Updegraff. Chicago: A. W. Shaw, 1927. 285 pp. \$2.00.

This book, which appeared at first as a serial in *System*, is a novel for business men. It is a story of the conflict between two business men—one of the old school and one of the new—through which the events of big business during the past twenty-five years unfold.

**THE HOUSE WITH THE GREEN SHUTTERS.** By George Douglas Brown. New York: The Modern Library, 1927. 314 pp. \$.95.

This novel of Scottish life, which made its appearance in the first year of this century, is the only novel from the pen of George Douglas Brown who died in 1902. The Modern Library edition just published has an introduction by George Blake.

